

## Vyas has potential says panel

by Peter David

Mr. Suresh Vyas, the Newham education officer, has been rejected for a place on the North East London Polytechnic's social work course, "might well have been successful in completing it", a special interview panel has decided.

But the panel, which interviewed Mr. Vyas this month, recommended that his chances of successfully completing a Certificate of Qualification in Social Work Course would be greater if he took it at another college.

The panel was set up after a High Court judge ruled in May that the polytechnic had not given Mr. Vyas a fair hearing in his original interview last year.

After his rejection at that time the Borough of Newham, one of three authorities maintaining the polytechnic, threatened to close the course unless he was offered a place. The polytechnic directorate complied, but the Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work took the case to the High Court.

Mr. Justice Stale ruled that Mr. Vyas had not been properly interviewed at the polytechnic, but he had not been given a fair hearing when the social work interview rejected his application. His application was legally "pending", and the polytechnic and the CCEETSW were asked to agree a means of re-interviewing him.

A statement issued by the interview panel this week says that their decision had been difficult because although panel members were experienced at interviewing social workers, they did not know the N.E.L.P. course in detail.

After negotiations between the polytechnic and the central council it was agreed that the panel should consist of a N.E.L.P. social work tutor, an experienced social worker, and a social work teacher from outside the polytechnic and an education welfare officer from another borough.

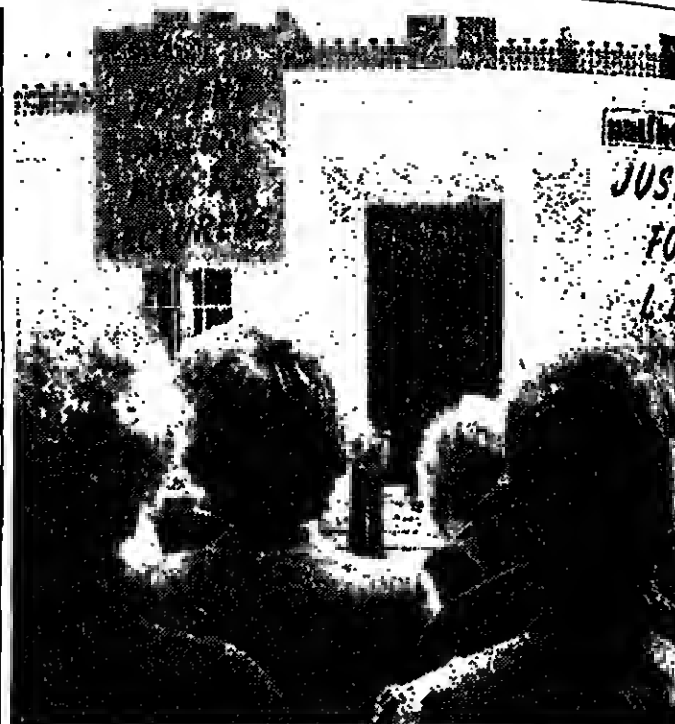
All the members concluded that on balance, Mr. Vyas seems to have potential for social work training, although some doubts were expressed about his academic capacity, the statement says.

Had Mr. Vyas been able to enter

the course in N.E.L.P. in September, 1977, he might well have been successful in completing it. The panel recommended that he be permitted to enter social work training on a course where he can complete all aspects of it over a two year period, and it is considered that his chances of success will be greater if Mr. Vyas can complete the course elsewhere.

Dr. George Bruson, director of the polytechnic whose handling of the affair was criticized in the High Court judgment, commented: "This decision by a panel largely nominated by the central council has vindicated my original view that Mr. Vyas was unfairly treated by the then staff of the CQSW."

He said that the polytechnic would be seeking to end the CCEETSW's suspension of the CQSW course, which will have no first-year intake this year. "The polytechnic has a duty to the local community to ensure this course again despite provocation from the stringent bureaucratic noisemakers of the central council."



NATFHE lecturers picket a meeting of the Burnham further education committee this week in support of a merger of the bottom two scales.

## OU seeks more collaboration on degrees into the 1990s

by Maggie Richards

Plans for the development of the Open University in the 1990s, including a growth of undergraduate numbers and the expansion of continuing education programmes, have been revealed this week.

The university also wants to widen opportunities for higher degrees in collaboration with other higher education institutions, and to make a "greater contribution to research, particularly where this involves developments in distance teaching methods."

Its guidelines for future developments form part of the university's response to the Department of Education and Science's consultative document, *Higher Education into the 1990s*.

In its submission the Open University argues for modular course structures, low fees, mandatory grants and encouragement for discontinuous study. But it vigorously opposes any suggestion that the Open University should help meet increased demand for higher education from school-leavers during the 1980s.

The response points to the profound effect of the Open University system of part-time higher education on a national basis, and the influence of the Open University on educational techniques—including teaching methods, course design and student transferability.

Some fall-off in demand for undergraduate places is anticipated from the mid-1980s, resulting from a decline in the number of teacher trainees. But the university expects this to be matched by a corresponding increase in demand from other areas.

It also hopes for expansion of the undergraduate curriculum, taking the annual student intake

from its present 21,000 to at least 25,000. The total undergraduate population of the university would then rise to about 85,000.

The university is intent on maintaining its open access policy, but the response says this will depend on four factors: increased emphasis on foundation studies and pre-university courses for new students whose educational qualifications are likely to be lower than hitherto; low fees and mandatory grants for part-time students; the extension of home-based teaching technologies and greater flexibility in provision of full and part-time study and credit transfer between institutions.

In collaboration with other providers, the Open University also intends to boost its continuing education output—to the point in the 1990s where there is a balance between undergraduate and continuing education programmes.

Within the expanded continuing education programme, the Open University envisages there will be a wide variety of provision, including professional and vocational courses developed in conjunction with other interested bodies, and offered at both sub-degree and post-graduate levels.

Demand for higher degrees will increase—on some extent stimulated by Open University provision itself, the response adds. By the 1990s the university would expect to receive 2,000 students to qualify for the BA honours degree each year, and if a recent survey is an accurate indicator of interest in further study, some 65 per cent of those students will wish to continue their studies with the Open University or elsewhere.

*The Open University in the 1990s: Part and Part II*, available from Information Services, The Open University, Milton Keynes, MK7 6AA.

## Experts hired to find experiments for the Spacelab

by Robin McKie

A consultancy firm has been hired by the Department of Industry to find enough commercial experiments to fill the Spacelab.

The move follows the disappointing response to the recent joint DoI Science Research Council appeal for British experiments for the manned spacecraft, scheduled to be launched by Space Shuttle in 1981. "The move follows the disappointing response to the recent joint DoI Science Research Council appeal for British experiments for the manned spacecraft, scheduled to be launched by Space Shuttle in 1981."

The claim, demanded against executive wishes by NATFHE's annual conference in May, was rejected formally at a meeting this week of the Burnham Further Education Committee.

Spokesmen for the management panel said they had little sympathy for the kind of structural changes asked for and would not be able to give a detailed response until a second meeting of the committee at the end of October.

Putting the case for a merger of lectures 1 and 2 salary scales, Mr. Stuart Headbridge, leader of the teachers' panel and NATFHE's general secretary, said that the dismantling of career prospects in recent years had led to a serious decline in the morale of those teaching on the lower scales.

A survey will also be undertaken of the industrial reaction to Spacelab, and the views of the United States, and the committee's views will be compared with those in Britain.

It is estimated that an experiment would cost several tens of thousands of pounds, although the DoI would give financial support, depending on its view of the relevance of a company's proposal.

A DoI spokesman said that although the initial industrial reaction to Spacelab has been poor, he expected the GTS survey which will be presented on February 28, next year, would show an extensive interest among companies in using Spacelab.

The spacecraft will be in orbit for only a few days but its "shirt-sleeve" environment is considered to be particularly useful for scientists carrying out experiments in areas such as materials sciences where zero-gravity conditions could be vital in developing new technologies.

Today's meeting is unprecedented since the science normally means a special session only to ratify experimental results. Its decision had to be confirmed by the university council, which does not meet again until October, and the matter could be raised again at the court.

Some disquiet remains at the prospect of the case being resurrected in 1980 and it is understood that a move will be made to overturn this aspect of the committee's report. A final resolution in April agreed that independent research should be used against the McColgan future if recommendations were not accepted.

## Lecturers trapped by salary bar will have to wait

The National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education will have to wait until the autumn before it hears a detailed employers' response to its claim for a merger of the bottom two pay scales for further education lecturers.

By March 1977, he added, 100 lecturers were stuck at the grade one scale, which was a maximum salary of £5,800. The minimum of the scale at £4,500 was a couple of hundred pounds below the minimum of the scale at £5,800.

NATFHE following the Burnham meeting decided against taking industrial action, saying it was not ready to go to court.

A special meeting of the teachers' national council has been called for the beginning of October to discuss the progress of the claim.

The union's annual conference in May, was rejected formally at a meeting this week of the Burnham Further Education Committee.

## CLEA pushes on student funds

by John O'Leary

Local authorities are to support the introduction of a new system of financing student unions in 1979, despite requests from the National Union of Students for a year's delay.

Government proposals for a two-part system of funding received full support from the Council of Local Education Authorities, which foresees few problems in implementing the change next year.

The decision represents an apparent change of mind by the Association of Metropolitan Authorities, which had been thought sympathetic to the NUS request.

An NUS spokesman said the union hoped the CLEA decision would not prejudice the chances of delaying any change until 1980 since the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals also hellewed implementation next year might be infeasible, particularly from the university unions which are to hold a special conference on the subject in September, makes further discussion time necessary for the students if an agreement is to be reached.

But Mr. Peter Coles, deputy education officer of the Association of County Councils, said the local authorities felt it was important to see the change through by 1979.

## Apology in court

The publishers of the *New Scientist* have apologized to the High Court to University College, London, for the article "The New Scientist" by Professor Martin Albrow. The article, which was published in the magazine in February 1977, contained a number of inaccuracies and was found to be defamatory.

The court found that the article was defamatory and that the publishers were liable for the damage to the university's reputation. The publishers agreed to pay damages to the university.

The court also found that the publishers had acted negligently in failing to check the accuracy of the article. The publishers agreed to pay costs to the university.

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## Peter David, in Havana, reports on the World Youth Festival British in clash with organizers

Problems, which have dogged a 180-member delegation of British youth and students at the World Youth Festival starting here today, almost provoked a public repudiation from the organizers. The delegation time been unable to pay a £6,000 contribution to the festival's International Solidarity Fund, through which delegates from affluent countries were to help subsidize the British delegation.

A threat to penalize the British delegation was withdrawn following a stormy meeting between Charles Clarke, former NUS president, and other members of the International committee directing the festival.

Mr. Peter Mandelson, chairman of the British Youth Council and deputy leader of the delegation, said it had been impossible to raise sufficient money in England either through voluntary fundraising or Government assistance. He said money had also been lost as the result of the cancellation of a Russian ship which was originally scheduled to transport some of the British party at a subsidized rate.

The British party at a subsidized rate.

The delegation will make an equally controversial speech on the Middle East, the Palestinian Liberation Organization is the sole representative of the Palestinian people but calling for the continuation of the State of Israel.

But the group's impact has already been blunted by its own financial woes and internal political squabbles. In May the Federalist of Conservative Students pulled out of the festival, and last week delegation leaders dropped seven hard-line Communist Party members whose views were regarded as incompatible with the delegation at large.

That has left the 180, who owe their places on the delegation as much to their ability to raise money as to their allegiance to particular political and youth groups. They are drawn from the British Youth Council, the NUS, Church organizations, the National Union of School Students, trade unionists, and members of the student wings of the Labour, Liberal and Communist parties. The absence of a government grant meant that the BYC, which planned to send 20 delegates, has sent only one.

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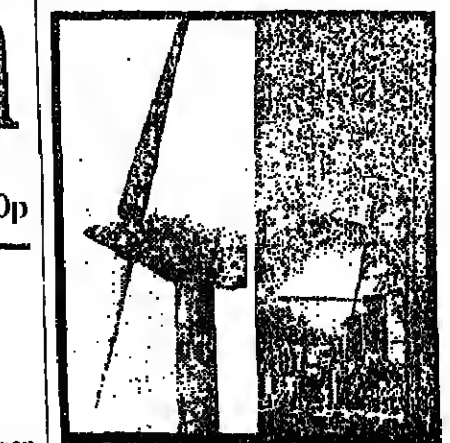
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Professor E. J. Burge discusses the public disquiet about nuclear power and some alternative sources of energy, 11

## Cultural studies

Peter David finds that the original themes of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies have been lost in sociological exotica, 8

## Cold War

Stuart Morris reviews *Shattered Peace* by Daniel Y







## Judith Judd reports on the tenth annual Communist University of London

### 10-year long march to maturity

The Communist University of London which celebrated its tenth anniversary and its coming of age in 1968 with the student protest movement at its height, 200 students met for the first time in a week-long event run by the Communist Party. The talk was of using universities as spearheads for the coming revolution and the aim was to provide the sort of courses which could not be found in the bourgeois higher education institutions of the establishment.

This year more than 1,500 people have passed through the university during its 10 days of operation at the Polytechnic of Central London. The talk is of how students can influence society by being in higher education colleges have proved susceptible in at least some of the changes the university's founders advocated.

Geoff Roberts, the organizer of this year's event, attended the first and is struck by the difference in mood: "1968 was more like a party summer school". He was reminded of it at a recent event organized by the Socialist Workers' Party. Now they are the children of the Left. The Communists have grown up.

The university has also grown away from the domination of the party. The first university was attended almost exclusively by party members. Its format was set. There was no lecture by a party member or an official who laid down the line on a topic followed by questions and a discussion during which students were to understand the party line.

This year there are 50 courses on subjects as diverse as "Factory and the City", "Sexuality and Power", and "Health Care in Britain". About a third of those attending are party members. The others are mostly non-party. The party is especially well represented. The Trotskyists, apart from a small contingent lobbying at the door, are absent. The university has become a meeting place for all shades of opinion on the Left.

Mr Boris Koval, Deputy Director of the Moscow Institute of International Relations, this year's speaker from the Soviet Union, is reported to have been impressed by the university but a little puzzled by the absence of people putting a clear party line.

Russia's standing has waned while that of Eurocommunism, one of its main issues of debate, has grown. There was a meeting to discuss the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia and a petition circulating in support of the dissidents, Shcharansky and Ginzburg, collected plenty of signatures.

#### Democratic socialism

The achievement of the present system of open debate for all was not easy. At the first universities any one who failed to toe the line was howled down. In this, as in many other ways, the development of the Left in Britain. One of the organizers sums this up as the commitment to democratic socialism not just as a theory in Western Europe but as something integral to what socialism should be. "Open" and "pluralistic" are popular words. Marxist studies, too, have changed. In 1968 the emphasis was put on what Marx wrote. The students this year had a more critical approach. Though the bookstall still contained the standard works and a pamphlet on "How October 1917 changed the world" there were 200 different Marxist journals on sale dealing with everything from community politics to the women's liberation movement.

The new and more pragmatic interests are reflected in the popularity of courses on feminism and community politics. "Sexuality and Power" and "City politics" along with "Introduction to Marxism" were the courses which were already full when the university opened its

doors a fortnight ago. The feminist interest is especially strong, with more than half the courses offering some discussion of it.

What is the secret of the university's success? The renewal of interest in Marxism and the development of a new "open policy" have helped. Students come from Canada, Scandinavia and Holland for intellectual rather than political reasons. It is not so much a question of sitting at the feet of a great Marxist hero, as it was in 1968, as of a general interest in the specialist academic courses.

The university was founded because much of the student discontent in the late 1960s centred on the content of courses and teaching methods. There is still an element of this but it is less strong than it was. The university would like to be perhaps the most notable difference between 1968 and 1978 participants was their age. Whereas those who came ten years ago were mostly undergraduates this year's students were mainly postgraduates or mature students, with a sprinkling of third-years.

Geoff Roberts is concerned about this. He says that at the postgraduate level there is no problem over the curriculum. There is plenty of enthusiasm among both students and lecturers. The undergraduates present a bigger problem. Their interest in changing courses disappeared in the early 1970s and he believes, is only just beginning to come back.

#### Well-equipped

"The irony is that in 1968 we were not very well-equipped in being about changes because of the dogmatic type of Marxism which was then prevalent, whereas now the university is tremendously well-equipped to fulfill this role."

The constant concern for student politics, far sitting in and smashing institutions, which inspired the discussions in 1968 has gone even among the enthusiasts. The university's relationship with the student movement is perhaps less close than it was. There is a sense of Communist students within the broad Left coalition which runs the National Union of Students. The relationship with the party has become more distant. The university still sees itself as a centre for the party's intellectuals and believes that it helps to supply intellectual coherence in Communist thinking. It has been influenced by party political developments on the Left. In the past 10 years it can also claim to have influenced them.

Eurocommunism and democracy in socialism were debated at the university long before the production of last year's party policy document. The importance of relating theory to practice is a major concern. Miss Sue Silman, Communist former president of the NUS, typified the new approach in her contribution to the one-day symposium on post-school education. She urged the school to think what action they could take in the short-term and argued that too much attention had been devoted to developing long-term perspectives.

The programme had strong similarities to that of the previous speaker, Mr Gerry Fowler, Labour MP for the Wirral. She wanted the development of paid educational leave, credit transfer and continuing education through a mixture of courses. Communists, she said, should try to influence events by joining the Manpower Services Commission regional youth groups.

Geoff Roberts also has plans for change and, in tune with the times, is talking about continuing education. He hopes that next year's university will include some evening classes. At the moment there are evening lectures and entertainment but it is impossible to take an academic course in the evening. The aim would be to attract teachers who cannot get time off from school during the day and workers whose attendance is very small. He also wants to increase the number of open availability.

The university is proud of its political maturity. Geoff Roberts says that the fact that it can attract Gerry Fowler and the editor of *The Times* as speakers shows that it has arrived. He believes that arrival has many advantages than disadvantages. "In a sense the center we become part of the establishment, the hotter, but if we had stopped talking about the transformation of society we would be worried."

## ACADEMIC DEVELOPMENTS

### Archeology and history linked at King Alfred's

by John O'Leary and Lisa Woul

A course at King Alfred's College of Higher Education, Winchester, is the first in the approval of the Council for National Academic Awards for the teaching of archaeology as a subject in its own right. The college is to offer archaeology in a joint degree with history as part of its three-year BA Honours programme. The subject has previously formed only a component in CNA degrees.

The course is designed to demonstrate the inter-relationship between archaeology and history, with the periods chosen for detailed study coinciding. The final year will require a two-week dissertation. Students will be required to take part in excavations, field and laboratory work, some of which will be done in a new archaeological study centre being developed in the college. Other work will be done with the Winchester Research Unit to allow first-hand experience of urban archaeology in a professional setting.

The new purpose-built Historical Resources Centre, near the site of Hyde Abbey, which is to house much of the important finds made at Winchester, will also be open to the students.

Recruiting for the course, which starts in September, has already begun, with a projected intake of 15.

A new course, designed to give a general grounding in all aspects of field archaeology, has been introduced by the Council for British Archaeology in response to the demand for a recognised qualification in the subject.

The diploma in Archaeological Practice, which will give a qualification approximately that of a bachelor's certificate, will not equip students to direct a major excavation or take complete charge of a large field survey project. Rather, it will give a sound basic knowledge of what is involved.

It consists of seven separate certificates. All are necessary to complete the diploma but each has a validity of its own and will be separately awarded. Applicants for each certificate examination must be received by the Council for British Archaeology by January 31, 1979. It is expected that institutions such as extra-mural departments and colleges of adult education will offer courses leading to the certificates. Many already have diplomas and eventually it will be possible for students holding them in gain exemption from particular certificates or parts of them. Claims for such exemptions will be considered by the Council for British Archaeology when the scheme is in full operation.

Students will also have to undertake projects in industry, particularly in companies with a manufacturing link.

The assistant director for technology and construction at the college, Mr John Warren, said the course had been designed to meet both the needs of industry and long-term national needs.

"The appalling problem of Britain's low manufacturing productivity can only be met by a greater input of more relevantly trained engineers and technologists," he added. "The course offers an opportunity to attain a high level of engineering and technological skill, together with sound business judgment, to those who might otherwise find the more conventionally based engineering disciplines unattractive."

#### 3-year degree in librarianship

A degree in Librarianship has been validated by the Council for National Academic Awards and will start at Basing College in October with an initial intake of about 30.

The course will involve three years' study of bibliography, information retrieval, library and information services and studies in cultural transmission. Special emphasis is being placed on staff management in the last two years of the course, which will concentrate on the organization of libraries.

Introductory courses in statistics and computing are also included, as is one in research methodology, which is intended to help students with the projects which act as a focus for the whole course. The BA degree is intended to provide students with a broadly-based education in librarianship.

### Linguistic look at German and English

An honours degree combining a historical and descriptive study of the German and English languages without a formal study of literature is being offered by the University of Newcastle in October. The BA(Hons) in German and English Language will be available equally between the German and the English language departments. Students will spend their third year in a German-speaking country and will specialize in the fourth year in a subject from their own department. It is claimed that the course is unique in Britain.

Another new course will be BA(Hons) in Philosophy and Religious Studies, with a compulsory philosophy of religion course bridging the two disciplines.

Students will be able to study ethics, metaphysics, the philosophy of mind and epistemology and logic. In religious studies, there will be options in the Old and New Testament, Judaism, Islam, Hinduism, the history of Christian thought, and religious movements. There will also be a BSc degree in genetics, which will include applied genetics and a thorough treatment of the molecular aspects of cell biology.

The needs of industry are met in a new BSc in applied engineering and construction, which will be able to take a core course in central engineering subjects together with a specialised subject option in an engineering discipline.

The course is particularly suited towards the training of applied science graduates of any first year discipline in control engineering techniques likely to be of broad industrial importance.

#### Opportunity knocks for those with German O levels

Students with German O level or below are being offered the opportunity to apply for a course being launched by the University's German department in 1979.

The course, in German studies, is being offered with 11 joint honours modules from French or English and is aimed at students who have not been able to begin study of the language at O level because of linguistic difficulties in the sixth form or because they were not able to begin study until 16 plus.

Its introduction follows a recent pilot scheme which investigated how many would be attracted to a joint honours course in German and English. It was established that the main stumbling block was the need for German A level.

The course, first aimed at British students, is now being offered to students in German A level schools by the end of the first year and, it is hoped, to complete degree by the final year.

Second, because it concentrates on modern German culture and society from 1871 onwards, students will not only be able to enter the usual careers open to language graduates but will be well equipped for careers in international industry and commerce.

Students with three or more O levels in German, chemistry studies and physics studies.

#### Academic and practical social work study

A new four-year course being offered by Buckinghamshire College of Higher Education will provide an opportunity for academic and professional training for potential social workers.

Extensive practical placements for students in social work agencies will be provided in the course, which will unite an honours degree in sociology with training for the Certificate of Qualification in Social Work. The existing three-year sociology degree will continue for students seeking various postgraduate occupations.

### North American News

## Universities join fight against city decay

Fifty college presidents have eagerly accepted President Carter's challenge to join his urban renewal campaign. Clive Cookson reports from Washington

The United States' urban universities have pledged their active support for the Carter Administration's new urban policy, which is aimed at revitalizing the country's aged cities.

The presidents of 50 urban universities have been in Washington to discuss practical steps they can take to rebuild the communities of which they are a vital part, and to meet officials from the White House and the Department of Housing and Urban Development to form an Administration/Urban University Task Force that will meet every couple of months.

President Carter announced his national urban policy on Easter Monday. It contained an spectacular "entrepreneur" programme, but a wide range of initiatives, including tax incentives for firms that hire unemployed workers or locate plants in inner cities, a labour intensive public works programme to improve urban facilities, a National Development Bank to stimulate business investment in distressed areas, and money for parks, crime prevention, housing rehabilitation, social and health services, and so on.

The extra federal spending involved is relatively modest—\$6.8 billion over the next three years, together with \$4.5 billion in tax incentives and \$1 billion in loan guarantees.

But the president made it clear that increased spending is not the key to the problem of urban renewal. The long-term solution must be more efficient and sensitive use of existing resources—and the formation of a New Partnership involving all levels of government, the private sector, and neighbourhood voluntary organizations in a major effort to make America's cities better places in which to live and work.

It was Mr Carter's call for a New Partnership that the university presidents seized upon at their Washington meeting. At the heart of this partnership lies a new process, and we believe that universities are the appropriate institutions for activating this process at the local level," they said in a policy statement.

The university group was convened by Boston University President John Silber, who is currently the public eye more than any other American university leader. He has been embroiled in several controversies—most recently over allegations that medical schools have been selling places to wealthy applicants—and he is campaigning hard for a radical change in student financial aid.

The presidents pointed out that their universities have "a compelling self-interest in the future well-being of the city". The university is "anchored in its community, and therefore has more at stake than many other local institutions that could sell their assets and move elsewhere."

"Thus there is a synergy and increasing concern on the part of the administration and faculties of most urban universities to take necessary steps to assure the vitality of their cities," the statement said. The universities were delighted by the contrast between President Carter's proposals, which singled out local institutions as "equal partners in the process of rebuilding the nation's older cities," and Washington's previous urban initiatives in the 1960s and early 1970s, which concentrated on federal government action.

Turning to the details of Mr Carter's programmes, the universities saw the following roles for them:

- Technical assistance to small firms seeking to take advantage of loans and grants provided by the new National Development Bank.
- Urban medical schools to run more clinics to improve city health care, and to aim medical research "at specifically urban problems". (The administration is proposing a \$50 million inner city health initiative.)
- Schools of social work to lend staff to help private and public agencies to improve social services. (Carter proposes a \$150 million social service grant programme.)
- Institutional assistance for urban schools "through greater and more innovative use of students and teachers' aides" and more use of unutilized urban facilities by schools. (Carter proposes \$15 million additional funds "to assist students and families in troubled schools".)
- Training members of the "Urban Volunteer Corps" (which Carter proposes to create for \$40 million).
- The students of the urban universities represent a vast reservoir of energetic and committed volunteer talent—this is a resource available or not other institution.
- Helping neighbourhood political leaders and voluntary organizations to apply for grants from Carter's proposed \$15 million neighbourhood self-help fund, and to implement projects.
- Architecture and urban design faculty and students to help develop projects for Carter's proposed \$20 million liveable cities programme.

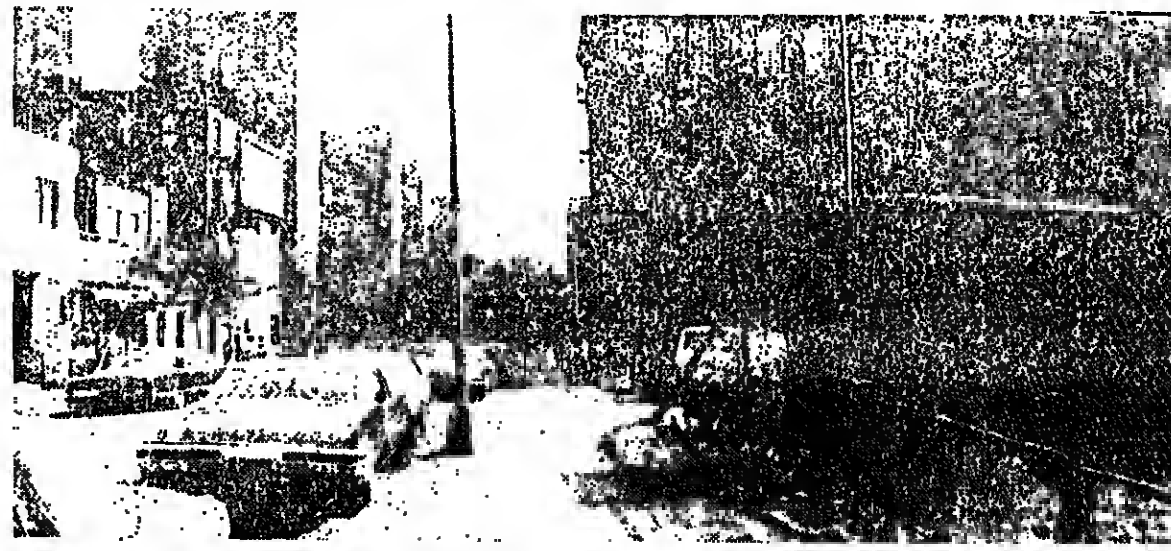
Many people presumed that two and four-year colleges generally prefer degrees for their faculties and for graduates as available, as the reports of the poor university job market indicate, they would be hired in much greater numbers than non-doctors. The survey showed this presumption to be incorrect," the NSF commented.

The proportion of scientists and engineers who have PhDs are 69 per cent for four-year and 18 per cent for two-year colleges. These are significantly higher than the percentages for new appointments and suggest on the face of it, that doctoral representation is actually declining.

However, the ACE gained the opposite impression by asking colleges whether they expect to accept proportionately more or fewer doctoral over the next five years.

About two-thirds anticipated no change and the remaining one third expect to be recruiting more PhDs by 1982—almost no colleges foresee a decline in their doctoral recruitment. Only one college reported a 50 per cent drop in the number of doctoral appointments in 1977 expects all 1982 appointments to have PhDs.

Differences between the proportions of doctorates in different fields were much greater at the two-year than the four-year level. In the two-year colleges, 13 per cent of life scientists but only 2 per cent of engineers and 4 per cent of life scientists appointed by junior and community colleges had a PhD. (In the arts and humanities, 13 per cent of appointments had doctorates.) At four-year colleges the variation



Holcort — a good target for improvements under the urban renewal programme

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### Youth vote ignored by politicians

Political analysts predicted—and liberal activists hope—that with the enfranchisement of 18 to 21-year-olds in 1971, the youth vote, and in particular the student vote, would have a big political impact. The reality, seven years later, is that the youth vote is ignored and forgotten, as an investigation by Congressional Quarterly shows. Neither Democrats nor Republicans attempt any longer to woo young people or students as an influential voting block.

"Young people in the late 1970s are a diffuse group with no common issues to the front together. Opposition to the Vietnam War and the threat of the draft brought segments of student youth together in the early 1970s. But no such issue exists today," the journal says. The third of the 28 million 18 to 24-year-old voters at college or university age no longer seem to have any political or cultural identity with the two-thirds who are working (or unemployed). And even within the student group there is no consistent political pattern—unless it is a general apathy about politics.

In the 1976 Presidential Election barely 40 per cent of eligible 18 to 24-year-olds bothered to vote, according to the Census Bureau. A survey on election day showed, surprisingly, that more of the 18 to 21-year-olds who did vote went for Gerald Ford (51 per cent) than for Jimmy Carter (49 per cent). The 22 to 29 age group voted decisively for Mr Carter—evidently they retained some of the radicalism of the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Neither party made a special effort to attract youth votes in the 1976 campaign. Mr Carter in particular was anxious to avoid the disastrous association of George McGovern with youth revolt and the counterculture in 1972.

Establishing more university small business development centres to help firms expand in urban locations.

Creating "community leadership" programmes. These would bring local community leaders in to work for a time in the university president's office and, it is hoped, teach them administrative skills.

However, the first step for the Task Force will be to compile an inventory of the various urban assistance programmes in which the universities are already involved, and a list of the current legislation and regulations that prevent them playing a full part in the "new partnership"—with a view to rectifying the law change.

#### UC's hard-working faculty

from Ian Andersson

STANFORD University of California faculty are both hard-working and dedicated, according to the preliminary findings of a survey being conducted during the 1977-78 academic year. The survey, which is being conducted by the Institute for Research in Social Behaviour, a private non-profit making corporation not affiliated to the university.

UC officials acknowledge that the preliminary findings may differ from those in the final report, but they claim that the findings offer a first indication of the full extent of faculty involvement in UC-related activities.

Time spent in front of the classroom by UC faculty has been a controversial topic over the last few years. Some faculty members have been claiming that lucrative outside consultancy work has been taking too much faculty attention. Earlier surveys have been at variance with this latest survey.

The findings are based on time diaries kept by a sample of 830

members of the United Kingdom and Sweden, with the aim of pinpointing specific factors that inhibited the United Kingdom from achieving a satisfactory rate of economic progress in the post-war period. A broader goal, he said, is to convert the lessons learned into policy recommendations.

He is starting off by expending this summer talking to economists, industrialists and bankers in both countries.

Professor Schwartz has been awarded a grant by the Eorhac Foundation to compare the econo-

#### Professor to examine UK economy

The poor performance of the British economy has become a constant source of fascination for American economists. The latest in a series of reports on the United Kingdom's dismal growth rate compared to his West European competitors is by Dr Schwartz, economics professor at Lehigh University in Pennsylvania.

Professor Schwartz has been awarded a grant by the Eorhac Foundation to compare the econo-

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## New Zealand

## Wage bill forced down by cost of equipment

from Lindsay Wright

WELLINGTON Three major items of costs—housing and power, equipment and materials—had risen so much by 1977 that New Zealand universities absorbed at least a \$12m (£6.6m) shortfall in combined total income, according to the annual report of the University Grants Committee.

The report said that, for some years, it has been usual for the universities to spend about 80 per cent of their income on wages, but in the past two years the rising cost of other items has led to a drop to about 75 per cent in expenditure on staff.

For the other 25 per cent the universities have no assured adjustments of their grants to meet rises in costs which occur after the grants have been calculated.

The committee acknowledges that, since the level of grants for the current quinquennial was established, fuel costs for heating and power had increased in price by an average of 133 per cent.

On the other two items, large sums are spent on direct orders overseas where price changes arise from cost variations in other countries and fluctuations in exchange rates.

The present block grants were based on prices in the second half of 1974 and since then the prices of equipment and materials, an

which the universities now spend nearly \$5m a year, have increased almost 60 per cent. On library books and periodicals, the universities spent over £2m a year and prices have increased 89 per cent.

Problems such as these have caused the UGC to carefully assess the difficulties of quinquennial planning, but the committee's report reaffirms the importance of such an approach.

"The present system has worked well in times when cost increases have not been excessive and when reasonably accurate estimates of student numbers have been possible or when rises in costs have been offset by a shortfall in student numbers."

"But when both these variables move against the universities as they have recently, so that they are faced with increasing student numbers and price inflation, their financial circumstances can deteriorate rapidly and markedly."

The extent of that deterioration in a country where the total income last year for the seven universities institution was \$82,424,000 is clearly conceded by the UGC.

While all the universities have received two successive grant supplementations this year to cover some of the cost increases in non-salary items, those increases cover only about 20 per cent of the UGC's own "conservative" estimate of the shortfall.

## West Germany

## Revised admissions treaty comes into force

by Günther Kloss

It is now certain that the new treaty between the 11 West German Länder which revises the admission procedures for higher education institutions (revised April 1978) will come into force this autumn, replacing a 1972 agreement.

The earlier treaty has been criticised, not least by some of its original signatories and by several courts of law. The Federal Constitutional Court in particular has declared sections of the treaty invalid.

Doubts as to whether the draft treaty would become operative arose from provisions in the Free Democratic Party (FDP) which is not only the junior coalition partner of the Social Democrats—several Länder governments too, both CDU and SPD—dominated, depend on the support of FDP members.

The FDP in general favours greater powers for the Federation in the area of education, especially higher education. In this instance some FDP Länder politicians felt the problem should be settled by a Federal Act of Parliament rather than an inter-Länder treaty which is largely outside Parliamentary scrutiny. They apparently also wanted to modify the text of the treaty.

They were critical of the so-called distribution procedure which will be invoked when the total number of places in one subject throughout all West Germany's universities

matches the demand but too many students out as their first choice for certain universities.

Students would then be admitted to the universities of their second preference, and some FDP politicians said that this would infringe the constitutionally guaranteed freedom of learning.

However, the party's national executive decided not to block the new treaty in order not to endanger the entire urgently-needed revised admissions scheme, while still pressing for Federal legislation.

But the FDP parliamentary party in the Hessian regional parliament stuck to its principles and succeeded in persuading the Hessian government to refuse to sign the draft treaty. Although some other Länder, notably North Rhine-Westphalia and Lower Saxony, had signed only very reluctantly, again under FDP influence, the Hessian Prime Minister was the only one to actually refuse to do so.

This resulted in intense pressure from some of the other Länder. Negotiations involved the Federal Chancellor and the two parliamentary parties supporting the Bonn Government.

Eventually the Hessian FDP relented and now claims to have obtained support of Bonn for a Federal initiative to amend the framework law in several important aspects, for example the Länder quota which plays an important part in the selection procedure.

The administration's task is to serve the academics and enable them to carry out their teaching and research in the best possible conditions. This university does not exist to provide jobs for administrators. The administrators reply that they have the unpleasant task of ensuring that budgets are kept within limits and of allocating funds to the various departments.

The real reason for the academics' anger is dissatisfaction with salaries—over which administrators have no control.

Academics at the Technion are permitted to devote one day a week to private consultation. Many, it is said, are devoting much more time than that to outside work because of the erosion of their salaries.

The best graduate, it is contended, accept more lucrative work in industry and in the private sector. The administrators end, it is feared the result will be a serious decline in research and teaching.

## Israel

## Academics angry over salaries

from our correspondent

JERUSALEM The senate of the Technion—Israel's Institute of Technology—has called upon the board of governors not to reappoint the president of the vice-president for financial and administrative affairs as proposed by the president. This is seen as an expression of dissatisfaction with the president's financial and administrative performance, like the vice-president for finance and administration, is not an academic.

The senate demanded that the appointment be given in whole or part to an academic but in fact the governors renewed the appointment—though for one year instead of two.

Two years ago the pressure by the academics forced the resignation of the director of research, the chief administrator of the Hebrew University.

In both cases it was argued that

## Australia



The Australian National University: careful over salary

## Whitlam gets £10,800 fellowship

from John Kirkaldy

SYDNEY The Australian National University will be the first in the country to have a former prime minister on its staff. Mr Gough Whitlam, Prime Minister from 1972 to 1975 and leader of the Labour Party from 1967 to 1977 is to take up a visiting fellowship at the ANU for two, possibly three years.

Under his appointment, which was widely predicted, Mr Whitlam will write two books—one on the workings of parliament, the opposition and government during the parliamentary career and the other on the prospects of Australia's relations with South East Asia.

Mr Whitlam is also working on his autobiography, which is not associated with his fellowship. While at the ANU he will take part in academic seminars and conferences, give occasional lectures in teaching courses and assist honours and graduate students.

The university's vice-chancellor, Professor Anthony Low, when he announced the appointment, said that Mr Whitlam's fellowship extended to the Research School of Social Sciences and the Faculty of Arts, all of which had recommended him.

Professor Low said the university considered Mr Whitlam's appointment as the highest honour it could bestow on a former prime minister. His annual grant of A\$18,000 (£10,800) had been carefully worked out, taking into account his Parliamentary pension, and was "nothing like" the remuneration for a full-time professorship.

Mr Whitlam, a graduate of Sydney University (where he was taught by a young professor of



Mr Whitlam: controversial

classics, Enoch Powell) was a brilliant barrister before entering parliament as the MP for Werribee, New South Wales, in 1952. By 1950 he was deputy-leader of the Labour party.

His cancer and prime ministerial duties were always controversial. Whitlam had a caustic tongue and did not suffer fools gladly—but it also saw a Labour commitment to increased federal expenditure on education and social services.

Mr Whitlam has often remarked that the new emphasis on education and the setting up of the commission on 'action', universities and colleges of advanced education were some of his ministry's biggest achievements.

Mr Whitlam was sacked as Prime Minister in highly disputed circumstances by the then Governor-General, Sir John Kerr, in November 1975 and he subsequently lost two general elections.

His books on politics will be keenly awaited as they will reveal some of the stormiest years in Australian history. He was one of the first major politicians to urge closer links between Australia and Asian countries.

## Norway

## Research facilities underused because of cash squeeze

from Colin Narbrough

COPENHAGEN Several important research projects planned for 1977 had to be turned down because of the difficult economic situation in Norway, says the recently published annual report of the Norwegian Research Council of Science and the Humanities.

During 1977 applications for project support amounting to 119m Norwegian kroner (£12m) were received for work that could have started this year, but the authorities allocated only 54m Norwegian kroner, 46 per cent of the total. This was far below the amount the council felt necessary to cover the worthwhile projects submitted.

The council says other projects had to be turned down too, leaving the research capacity of Norwegian universities and colleges poorly utilized. According to the report, under-utilization has become a dominant problem in terms of the council's work.

To achieve full utilization the council must continue to be receptive to applications from research institutes, the report notes.

In recent years the council has tried to stimulate research in various areas through reports, conferences and distributing funds. Recent themes have included democracy and the management of

society, research on women, and nourishment and energy research. Though some of these topics fall outside the council's strict brief, it is felt they should be given support in order to develop their own research momentum.

One area of research considered of major importance is genetic manipulation. The council considers that its responsibility is to closely follow developments in this field abroad and in particular to scrutinise the regulations under which research is carried out.

The Norwegian parliament has covered an earlier decision and decided that seven maritime colleges should be established round the country. They will be sited at Aranda, Bergen, Hangesund, Tromsø, Trondheim, Tvedestrand and Oslo.

The government is also preparing plans for technical colleges for fishery at Bodø and Alesund. One of the main points of contention was the future of Oslo's famous maritime school at Ekeberg.

The 44th Nobel Symposium in Stockholm from August 23-25 will have Ethics for Science Policy as its theme. It will be opened by Swedish Education Minister, Jan-Erik Wikström, with Professor Torbjørn Sæviestad in the chair.

## Holland

## Student grants rise 3.4%

from John Richardson

THE HAGUE Grants for university and higher professional college students are to be increased by 3.4 per cent in the study year 1978-79. The maximum allowance, exclusive of the students living away from home, will be 9,000 guilders (£2,200) for those living at home, and 6,210 guilders (£1,500) for those living at home.

The maximum grant for travel, tuition, schoolbooks, and other student teachers, who, while not undergoing "higher" professional training, will be 750 guilders for those living away from home and 4,520 guilders for those living at home.

The grants will be given in the form of an interest-free loan according to a letter to Parliament from Dr Arle Pols, the Minister of Education and Science.

For university students a basic allowance of 1,450 guilders and for higher professional students 1,200 guilders will be paid as an interest-free advance. Thirty per cent of the rest of the allowance will be loan and the other 70 per cent will be non-repayable.

Forty per cent of the whole allowance for infant teachers is to be an interest-free loan.

The payments will be calculated on a monthly basis with the allowance being paid as a lump sum at the end of August.

The situation is different for married students. If the student is married to a non-student, the maximum allowance is equivalent to the single student living away from home plus the maximum for a student living with parents.

This can also be increased by children's allowances of 1,170 guilders (£270) per child. Deductions made for the students' parents are young, except the students' own, monthly, but if the student is 27 years old parents' incomes are not entered into the reckoning.

For students who marry other students, the main allowances are calculated on the same way as for the unmarried. In other words they will normally be eligible for double the maximum for a student living away from home (£4,400) subject to the deductions depending upon parental income and other personal sources of income.

Children's allowances of 1,170 guilders are again available so long as one of the couple is over 25 years of age.

## South Africa

## Transitional colleges call for Louis Hoit

from Louis Hoit

JOHANNESBURG South Africa's universities should have colleges attached to them to serve as a bridge between the school and the university proper. This is a suggestion put forward by the director of university education, Dr H. S. Steyn, as a means of overcoming the problem of the high proportion of drop-outs among trainees.

Addressing the annual meeting of the Afrikaans Language Academy for Science and Art in Port Elizabeth he referred to the serious financial and other burdens which the large number of undergraduate students imposed on universities.

It was a long-term solution which had grown from the number of pupils who left school with university admission in the 1960s had shown that more than 50 per cent of the students left universities. Later investigations confirmed this.

Dr Steyn suggested courses leading up to full-time university study for students who proved that they would benefit from further study. The colleges would, in effect, serve as feeders for the universities.

This would avoid the need to establish new universities for at least a number of years, a demand for more such universities especially for non-white students was growing.

50 per cent of convicts in Wakefield maximum security prison (right) are engaged in some form of study. To them it means recreation, education

and a way to keep sane. To the authorities it works as a tool for reform, management and to improve the quality of life. Maggie Richards reports

## Study lights up life behind bars

In the heart of Wakefield Prison, surrounded by solid concrete walls and high steel fencing, stands a mulberry tree. Prison folklore has it that the tree, which still flourishes in season, is all that remains of the original house of correction which stood on the site. Inmates, it is said, were permitted to tramp around the tree on their bare feet of recreation and to carve the tree-ring into the bark. The tree is now a symbol of the prison's history.

These in Wakefield today are unlikely to choose this exercise as a release from the rigours of prison life. About 300 of them, in fact, are engaged in educational pursuits—ranging from basic remedial classes to extra-mural programmes run by Leeds University and Open University studies.

In the field of non-academic activities there are various vocational courses—in engineering, tailoring, and plastering—and a braille unit, in which prisoners work on transcribing literature and text books into braille script for the blind.

Wakefield is a maximum security establishment catering for long-term prisoners, some serving life sentences. The average inmate has been sentenced to between 10 and 12 years imprisonment, but many will not spend the entire period at Wakefield. After three years—during which it is anticipated that inmates will be moved to other penal institutions nearer to their homes or more suitable to their particular needs.

The 300 studying form just under half of the total prison population, with about 200 attending evening classes. One hundred prisoners are allowed two days of full-time study per week, calculated to compensate in some measure for the touring and summer school activities other OU students receive. It also allows them to use the prison's videotape facilities to watch their recorded television programmes.

But the greatest emphasis of all at Wakefield is given to those on remand, for whom the prison working week of just under 35 hours is divided equally between class and work. Attendance is a condition which provokes hostility from the higher education fraternity who argue that they could utilise such time equally well.

A nationally negotiated policy document issued by the Home Office determines broad outlines for the prison education service in England and Wales. It includes the provision that education must be voluntary activity, and a statutory requirement for evening classes to be organised in each establishment.

There is also a clause stating that the sufficient literacy provision must be available to meet demand.

Beyond these broad guidelines, education within prisons comes under the jurisdiction of the central local education authority, which arranges provision in conjunction with the prison governor. Several factors may be engaged to limit the workload, or in larger institutions more full-time teaching staff may be appointed.

Budgeting functions are also performed by the local authority, which determines the Home Office for the amount. Though the financial burden does not fall on the prison service, the prison education service has been subjected to the same cash limits as its external counterparts, and over the past few years cuts have been imposed as a counter-inflationary measure.

Educational work has been conducted in prisons since the latter part of the last century, but growth has been most rapid since the end of the war. To the Home Office the prison education service has three major functions: to act as a tool of management; to be used as a means of rehabilitation; and as a way to keep sane.

But there is a special consciousness of the need to engage prisoners usefully in passing time: "It would be wrong to see education merely as a time-filler for the inmate—this is not so, but it is important to remember that one of our duties is to fill time.



Wakefield's study time has been altered.

Many of those who engage in educational activities do not continue to do so when they leave, so possibly it does fulfil this function in their minds.

"What it does do, from the administration's point of view, is to provide another element in the regime which is very different from the remainder, and so has extra value. It gives prisoners an opportunity to take on another role. They stop being prisoners and start being students."

While an attempt has been made to normalize educational facilities so that they correspond with what is happening outside the prison walls, that remains the necessity under a policy of voluntary attendance, to make the curriculum as attractive as possible. This can be achieved only by placing the emphasis on recreational pursuits—a policy judged by Wakefield's governor to be a more satisfactory solution than the introduction of an element of compulsory education: "For an adult who is bright, education is an extremely demanding. For an illiterate who, almost by definition, does not view schooling with relish, it is a completely unrealistic prospect to compel attendance at classes."

Wakefield's governor Mr Brian Eames feels the most important factor is the enhancement of the inmate's present quality of life, regardless of his status as a prisoner: "Our function is to provide an educational facility, the fact that it is in prison is entirely incidental."

Concentration has to be on the here and now. For those doing more than five years we have to be particularly concerned about the quality of life. Administration of the education service becomes as much of a responsibility as for anyone else in charge of a similar establishment in the community, which is always catering for the present."

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Wakefield's educational activities are conducted in the education centre, tucked behind the residential cell blocks which form the innermost sanctum of the prison.

In contrast to the bleakness of other buildings in the complex, the education centre is brightly decorated—the work of prisoners engaged on one of the prison's vocational courses—and supplied with some soft furnishings. Here Open University students can follow their own particular studies, while in an adjoining classroom groups of literacy students are tutored.

Special problems confront the higher education student in prison and, given the opportunity, Wakefield's contingent are voracious in their complaints. The period of time permitted for study is particularly contentious. Formerly, under locally agreed terms, Wakefield OU students enjoyed a more generous hours allocation. Since the Home Office regulated the hours in all 20 establishments offering OU courses,

Wakefield's study time has been altered. More favourable terms for literacy students have helped to reduce discontent amongst the OU students, as one disgruntled member expressed it: "We don't begrudge help to people who are learning to read and write, but we are concerned there is an over-emphasis in this area without any noticeable results: whereas in higher education students are discriminated against on financial considerations."

For the uninitiated it is easy to presume prisoners, as opposed to conventional OU students, have an excess of time available for study. A recent national newspaper article illustrating this view incensed Wakefield's student inmates.

A major blight in their lives is noise—in the rattled cell blocks sounds reverberate around the various wings. There are always minor irritations, as explained by one of the OU students: "At irregular intervals I hear the sound of a keep-fit female skipping pounding through the walls. It is quite clear, and he is situated 60 yards away."

Mr Eames has some sympathy with the plight of the students: "You do have a room to yourself, but there are other distractions. Just as you are going on, it is not at all conducive to study. At home a student would have the option of choosing when to work, and a chance of obtaining some peace and quiet."

Other petty restrictions may hamper study, and to the budding, resentful student the most insignificant incident can be magnified out of all proportion. In order to utilize every moment of peace Wakefield Open University students have become accustomed to controlling the switch to their 60 watt cell light bulbs by means of a piece of string attached to the switch in the corridor outside—so that they could study after the official switch-off time.

After a squabble over the practice, the governor has sanctioned its use—but prisoners now complain of tetchy prison officers snatching the string. For their part the officers reply that this action has only been taken as a result of misbehaviour when a prisoner can expect to find some privileges withdrawn.

Open University counselling staff paying visits to the prison come to an account. They learn very quickly that prison life is a series of compromises, "sold one."

As outsiders, counsellors are perhaps better placed to make an impartial judgment on the effect of higher education on the prisoners. "Courses do perform a valuable task in creating the need for long-term planning and forcing the prisoner to think outside the terms of day-to-day routine," commented one. "Many prisoners also seem to be unconsciously looking for self-validation—there is a constant preoccupation with obtaining high marks."

The students themselves are anxious to make clear their intentions in taking Open University courses—generally ascribed to mental stimulation and career ambitions: "I decided to take an Open University course to keep my sanity. It is about the only thing left for me to work towards. Possibly it may be a job at the end of it."

There is, however, too, to rebuff claims that higher education, involving two-day study sessions, offers an ethical alternative to full-time employment: "It is certainly not a dodge. These courses demand a lot of work—about 30 hours a week for me. We may avoid work, but we have also to forego other activities during our leisure time. It is certainly not easy."

One prisoner, in his fourteenth year of confinement, had come to regard education as his lifeline: "Without education I would have been a vegetable by now. Like too many others in here—but a lot of them just don't have the resolve to fight their way through."

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Ngaio Crequer profiles London's new principal

## The military administrator whose enemy is uncertainty

He was too busy to talk to Lord Zetland, the vice-chancellor-elect. Not because of disinterest, simply because he was too busy.

Mr James "Hunish" Stewart, at the age of 60, and after a working career dedicated to the University of London, is set to become its latest principal. At the same time he will carry on with the job he has done for nearly 40 years, chief of the centre. As principal he will replace the man who beat him in the job in 1975, Dr Glenn Wilson, who resigned because of differences of opinion over the way the post is to be redefined in the review of the university's statutes.

"What happened three years ago is history and is not relevant. There is a vacancy now. I prefer to say that I declared myself a candidate three years ago. Of course I was disappointed. Who wouldn't be? But I think I could claim that the fact that I was disappointed did not affect my application to my job and my fulfilment, so its position (in history) is in a new situation", Mr Stewart said.

He said that the events surrounding the resignation of Dr Wilson and those concerned with his appointment are two separate things. Dr Wilson's resignation in June shocked both staff and students and reports of a "golden handshake" of anything up to £100,000 have not done much for morale. One MP wrote Dr Wilson and Campbell. General to complain about the misuse of public funds.

Mr Stewart will not discuss the case but does say that he recognizes universities are to some extent public bodies and are accountable to Parliament. Parliament is supreme. Parliament votes money and is entitled to inquire into a university's books and accounts. It is not, he says, the question of desirability does not come into it.

Mr Stewart got a first in modern history at Durham University and

later an MA. He did research in Canada, and was awarded a Holland Rose Scholarship at Cambridge and the William Black Noble Fellowship at Durham. During the war he served in the Royal Artillery and in the general staff in the United Kingdom, Belgium, Holland, India and Ceylon. He was awarded and evacuated from Dunkirk. He has been awarded the CBE and the OBE.

His time in the army was his most formative period and he looks back fondly on the disciplines he learned. He likes to remember his days as a soldier because they symbolize efficiency and organization. Although he joined the university in 1946, as deputy clerk of the court, and has known no other career, he talks very definitely of two careers, the other being his military service. He reached the rank of major, acting lieutenant-colonel.

He enjoys military history and says that when he goes on holiday with his family (two sons and daughter) he will make a diversion in Europe to look at a famous war site. All his leisure time reading is historical, mainly biographical and military history. He is fascinated by both world wars.

He accepts a military analogy when discussing his present and future work. "The much maligned services are very highly organized. They have a clear idea in plan things on a military basis. In contrast we have to plan our work and meet deadlines, but however careful you do your planning, the unexpected always crops up. So like a soldier, you have to adjust plans to cope with exigencies. The uncertain factor is the enemy."

Who or what is the enemy? "It is this context there is no enemy, but this equivalent is uncertainty. During his 32 years at the University of London, Mr Stewart has been concerned with the background of the planning and development of British universities. He has

represented London at the University Grants Committee and Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals on subjects including grants, resources, students, buildings, the training of university administrators, cost analysis, student statistics, estimates and kitchen equipment costs.

He says there is not a university in the country where he does not have close contacts with people in the top halves of the administrative establishments. He has visited universities throughout the world, including some in Australia, New Zealand and Hong Kong. He is even an honorary citizen of Texas, as a result of a visit with a delegation from a Commonwealth University Congress.

Since 1951 he has been clerk of the court and earned a reputation of being strict, but fair, certainly a man in command. For much of that time he served under the former principal, Sir Douglas Logan, whom he regards as an outstanding figure.

"The most striking thing he has seen as clerk is, obviously, the enormous growth of the university, in student numbers, financial commitment and the new breed of professional administrators. He says that most development has come to a halt because of recent financial difficulties. There is now an atmosphere in the universities which was quite unknown when he first joined them.

Damage to universities is very difficult to repair. We have the problem not of saving money, but of trying to spend it. In a period of financial constraint, inevitably the schools and colleges of the federal university look at the centre. Institutions are all active, intelligent, vibrant. Obviously all forms of expenditure become suspect."

Mr Stewart says he is a servant of the university and will do what the university wants me to do. I am a professional administrator. My personal views are my own. It is the university that matters. But you must not think of me as a non-entity", he adds, rather needlessly.

"The qualities necessary for a principal are humanity, understanding, sympathy, patience and dedication. One is in danger of summing up pompous using words like these, but they are necessary."



James Stewart: "The unexpected always crops up".

are always available at his fingertips.

Ask him how he sees his role and he will read you the relevant minute in the proposed new statute. It is a mark of his excitement. He uses words carefully. When talking he sits in front of the ceiling, hands clasped in front of him, his feet crossed. He looks at the camera and his hands to illustrate his point.

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It was the differences of opinion over the re-definition of the post which led to Dr Wilson's resignation. Does that stumbling block still exist? Mr Stewart said: "There will be no difficulties because I will not allow any difficulties. I am looking forward to working with Lord Zetland. I think it will be a very exciting period."

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## Don's diary

### Sunday

We all agree that last night's party for our departing head was a great success—more so for those of us who were able to share a table with the new arrivals. After a very pleasant evening, colleagues gathered to say farewell and to continue the post-mortem over Sunday breakfast and coffee. But I beat a hasty retreat for the London train.

The excitement of my first "125" trip is soon ruled: the train is late and gets progressively later. I stand for hours in the journey and the buffet, despite the new decor, is still held by truculent staff and waiters. The journey is lightened by David Lodge's *Changing Places*. My agitation at being so late is soon removed by friends' congenial hospitality. To bed, and a last check of my external examiner's marks for tomorrow.

### Monday

A most peculiar day. The morning spent in examiner's meetings, but the issues are clear and the business smooth. Then followed a dash to Heathrow. With half an hour to spare, I'm packed into the lunchtime airline. Despite the airline's adverts, the passengers are the equivalent of nineteenth-century steerage. But this time the discomforts are made worthwhile by a most spectacular view of the Alps.

My arrival, however, was greeted by the promised transport failure to materialize and a sorry trail of cars, buses and trains deposits me at Como in the late evening, in time to miss the last boat north and in the middle of a taxi strike. So I blundered for the first time in memory along a spectacular road which climbs to the rock face north along Como.

For the last 20 miles I'm in the mercy of a drunken driver whose

sole mission to safety is to sound his horn when on the wrong side of the road, arriving at the last village, I'm ushered into a world of sumptuous hospitality never experienced before. A shower and a change before going downstairs to meet the other 19 historians and review some old acquaintances.

### Tuesday

Daylight reveals the most spectacular scenery: we're perched on a promontory jutting out into the lake, with steps of gardens receding down to the town, and a view north to the Alps today behind the clouds. And the aroma from the gardens is quite marvellous. But it is all soon shut out as we bundle round the conference table for the first of a dozen sessions. I'm intrigued by the fundamental differences which usually surface between the Americans and the English. Our American colleagues are generally more forthright when speaking: the English more clipped and cryptic. At first sight it looks like the difference between Players and Gentlemen, though the writers papers show no such distinctions. We're off to a flying start and the atmosphere is congenial.

Our meals—excellent themselves—are served in a sumptuous style, with a dozen or so resident scholars joining us. It is a most remarkable place. Back for a late night revision of my own paper and comments for tomorrow's session.

### Wednesday

Up at 7 am to go through my cancellation for the last time. If I can see the flaws, I'm sure they all can. In the event, the paper seems to go down well, and my weaknesses are highlighted in the most gentlemanly fashion. My tension evaporates when I see a very depressing talk with a visiting nuclear strategist. Will I

when we're taken on a splendid boat trip on Lake Como. Some Americans continue to talk shop even when photographing the views.

An evening seminar takes us late into the night. Already, our American friends are putting us to shame: they swim, play tennis, talk incessantly. I don't seem to have the energy even to lift a cruet of water (significantly dominated by the English). It's no longer clear which sport or recreation I'm now suited to. Players, much younger than me, in all sports, are described as "veterans". Let's hope historians get better with age.

### Thursday

A sluggish start. We move on to the American papers and the differences

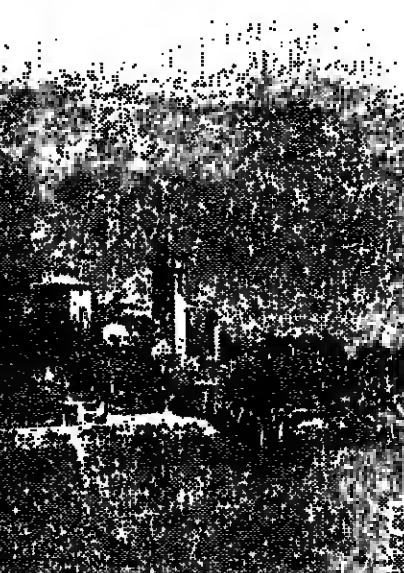


Lake Como: the Americans still talk shop.

in styles of presentation, questioning and replies become very clearly marked. Some marvellous sights of flying hair and to the accompaniment of creaking, metal chairs and varied US accents. Some of us stay in the same seat throughout, others move around—the Americans are notably more mobile. I stay put, here, as in my library I like. A fine supper is rather spoiled by a very depressing talk with a visiting nuclear strategist. Will I

### Friday

The papers swing between the specific and the general. But the cumulative impact is to reinforce one's sense of inconclusiveness. We need to know more. The lunch break gives me time to shop in Bellagio. I am hopeless, and buy the most obvious items. Others however delegate their shopping in visiting wives—a truly sexist gesture.



Lake Como: the Americans still talk shop.

These lucky colleagues with spouses in town slip away for conjugal visits; this does not seem to produce a marked improvement in their seminar performances. Their goodness academics aren't like sportsmen. They are removed from their wives and girlfriends on the nights before important games. Presumably, an unconscious variation on the theme that it is better to live on your feet than to live on your knees.

The final session proves unexpectedly complex. Forthright, incisive chairmanship (and general witlessness) cuts short a bout of potential academic widdlegery. We all thank each other and applaud—at one point I am sure we actually clapped ourselves—a bit like the central committee. Then we tumble down the hill to fill a pavement café. A lovely satisfied feeling. We climb back to the villa in the beginnings of a storm, with vast flocks of lightning looting between the distant peaks.

### Saturday

An early start followed by apparently endless handshakes and farewells. The coach to Milan takes us south along the lake, with the beauties of the region slowly receding until we eventually hit the flat-plate and the sprawl of Milan. More farewells before booking into a hotel with a colleague. A hot, dusty walk to the spectacular cathedral. In the baking sun, we stand on top of that wedding-cake structure and talk about evangelists.

The streets and public places remind those of us just how grubby our own country has become. Though not as bad as in United States cities perhaps, public squalor is unquestionably worse than in the rest of Europe. Neither of us can think of a good historical reason for it.

Now that the total absorption of the conference is over, I am keen to get back to my long-suffering family. The trans keep me awake and remind me of Blackpool. Who was it who called them "the gondolas of the people"? Has anyone ever been woken by the sound of a gondola? Still, one last night is a small price to pay for such a splendid week.

James Wadwin

The author is senior lecturer in history at the University of York.

## Dons who interact at the interface of journalism and sociology

Peter David argues that we should take the work of Richard Hoggart's creation seriously despite its unhappy jargon

### CENTRE FOR CONTEMPORARY CULTURAL STUDIES

For a man who knows his media, Stuart Hall, director of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, gets an astonishingly bad press. Fairly typical are the final comments in an ungenerous review of his latest book by the *Times Literary Supplement*: "Not a few citizens of our crisis-racked society will sleep sounder in the knowledge that our there is deep conceptual space there are critical social scientists grappling with ideas that defy common understanding."

These are hard words about the hard work of serious scholars, yet one sees the reviewer's point. Much of the output of the Birmingham University centre is written in an unhappy mixture of journalism and sociology which baffles the lay reader. Things are never said or expressed but "articulated"; and events don't occur at particular times but at "conjunctions".

Nevertheless, there are good reasons for taking what the centre says very seriously. For one thing, the issues that it discusses are not lodged in deep conceptual space but are all too close to home—murder, street violence and social outcry. For another, the leading jargon of the centre's publications does not result from scholarly obfuscation or minor scholarship, but from genuine difficulties that arise when academics write about new themes which are both highly theoretical and which cut across established discipline boundaries.

The centre's academic pedigree is impeccable. It was founded by Richard Hoggart as an offshoot of Birmingham's English department as a place to develop the themes in his great book, *The Uses of Literacy*.

To these themes—class, education, class culture and their links with wider social and class structures—the centre claims to have remained faithful, despite Hoggart's absence from 1968 and his formal departure in 1973. But both enemies and friends of the centre are now beginning to dispute this: friends on the grounds that the centre has become too theoretical and less empirical, enemies on the grounds that it has been taken over by Marxists and even worse, randies.

Accusations of Marxist takeovers appeared in correspondence in the *THES* last year. Citing evidence from the centre's education group reading list—Marx, Althusser, Poulantzas, Gramsci, and Bourdieu—Mr C. W. Warren (writing in *Stuart Hall*) and his colleagues were immersed in "the particular Marxist heresy peculiar to the centre". He went on: "I do not say these should or he read, but such a particular selection, which is typical of every group's reading, is of use only for the manufacture of Marxist theoretical or dogmatic."

These charges were hotly denied by the centre and its defenders. In the centre's intellectual imagination not because of some predetermined dogmatism but because that was the intellectual logic of the centre's endeavours led, they argued.

"Our historians did not choose last year to study the work of Maurice Dobbs, Rodney Hilton, Eric Hobsbawm, Christopher Hill, and Edward Thompson just because they were 'Marxist historians': these works were chosen because they make, unusually for English historiography, questions about the relation

of logic and research which are essential for our own work." Richard Johnson, one of the centre's members, explained.

Stuart Hall is even more dismissive. "We are in the business of advancing the understanding as red bases", he declares. If there is a conspiracy at the centre, he says, it is a strangely public one—virtually everything that has been said or done in one form or another, either as part of the centre's collection of stencilled papers freely available from the university, or in one of the many collections of research reports and readings that have been produced over recent years.

It is on the merits of its published work that the centre asks to be judged. Its most recent book, *Representation of the Cultural Imagination*, has now been adopted as an Open University text, has undoubtedly been *Resistance through Rituals*. As these arguments of the centre's main pamphlet, the work is closely at the methods and moves of youth subcultures, such as teddy boys and skinheads, and attempt to link their ritualised behaviour with trends in social and class culture generally.

But even this book has attracted criticism, and from friends rather than enemies of the centre. Stan Cohen, professor of sociology of Essex University and a close associate of the centre, described the collection in the *THES* as "a collection reading for anyone interested in youth, mass culture or style. But he was a tendency to the deficiencies. There was a tendency by the authors to view youth subculture romantically and sentimentally as forms of creative resistance in dominant society."

When they could be interpreted equally plausibly as conservative styles taken over more or less intact from the dominant culture.

What exacerbated the problem, in Cohen's view, was the absence in the book and in the centre generally of a strong commitment to the mundane fieldwork that could provide the evidence in support of the centre's encouraging interpretation of youth as culture. The same criticism is echoed by Raymond Williams: he remarks favourably on the centre's interest in the theory of ideology but warns: "what is essential is that work which employs these concepts should be genuinely interactive with, and never a substitute for, the fully outward complexities of social history, social relations and social conflict."

Resistance is a good example of these dangers. Parts of the book are excellent as journalism but abysmal as sociology. Several of the authors write with sensitivity and imagination about the youth they are studying: one essay begins: "For most kids, where it's at is the street; it's the romantic action packed streets of the ghetto but the wet pavements of Wigan, Shepherds Bush and Sunderland..."

Other essays on theory are extraordinarily muddled. The problem is that the connection between the intuitive discussions of youth cultures and the theory—which tends to be imported from existing work—way is seldom made.

The centre's latest book, *Policing the Crisis*, is an improvement in that it studies and theorises in detail on a single theme—the "mugging score" and public overreaction to it. The *THES* review notwithstanding, the book is readable by

sociological standards and reveals usefully how an old crime novel given a new name, became "new" and resulted in heavy and largely irrational new sentencing policies in the courts.

Nevertheless, for sociologists it is a flawed work, not only because of its inconsistent but also because of its implication that some conscientious media-police conspiracy covers ground already well-covered by sociologists of deviance and crime. Stan Cohen's study of media and culture in *Folk Devils and Moral Panics*, and Jack Young's *Drugs, Crime and Society* are earlier, and say better, examples of the ideal genre.

Possibly the greatest problem facing this centre, therefore, is its alleged Marxist bias when the hostility so far to have cut a path through the centre's work. Having broken from its roots in the culture it is in danger of losing its identity as a centre of cultural studies, and a particular brand of intellectual inquiry. By occupying the intellectual universities, Stuart Hall believes the centre can provide some of the unique in social criticism. But with only three full-time members of staff, and with a programme devoted to graduate teaching rather than research, the creation of a coherent interdisciplinary field of study will be difficult.

Meanwhile, something valuable appears to have been lost on route. Studies of skinheads, outsiders and Studies of travellers may indeed provide shafts of insight into the way society creates its culture and people react to it. It is also true that the centre has studied media, youth culture and popular culture, and with a programme devoted to graduate teaching rather than research, the creation of a coherent interdisciplinary field of study will be difficult.

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## Dahrendorf's hostages to fortune



Bryan Davies

is characteristically persuasive style, Ralf Dahrendorf concluded his contributions to this column with the provocative thesis of "the emergence of the educational class". I seek to dispute this notion by arguing that some penetrating points were made, I find the argument that the educational class can be described as a "class" quite unconvincing. Secondly, I fear that should the concept be taken too far, the educational class will suffer. Powerful and well-organized forces in our society are only too eager to limit the resources devoted to education. Educationists themselves are very of promoting new instruments for their adversaries to exploit.

Professor Dahrendorf's thesis that there are many who, hostile to the expansion of educational opportunity, will enthusiastically endorse progressivism as "educational class" is with what those who do not believe in it. This modern version of the *trouille des clercs* threatens

to give sustenance and support to some of the more depressing features of contemporary populism. Politicians of liberal views have few doubts on the enormous appeal and vast popularity of the campaign to restore the death penalty.

Once undermined the respect for the rational informed rejoinder that leading up to a greater participation in society and the notion of a civilized community is at risk. Similarly important defences against racism and fascism can only be erected as the basis of communicating the lessons of the past and the experience of other societies.

This is surely a function of the well-educated and well-read and distressed by the somewhat fading cultural memory of the Europe of the thirties. There is, of course, always the danger of adopting that academic aloofness which characterizes the most sophisticated thought in British politics.

Socialists are sensitive that an important strand in the Labour movement developed from a narrow meritocratic elite whose stance often seemed almost contemptuous of the mass of the people. Nevertheless, even Fabianism always argued for an essential open entry into the elite. It played its full part in committing the Labour Party to the extension of educational opportunities as the key to the more rational and civilized society. That the expansion of educational opportunity in Dahrendorf's terms shows few signs of guaranteeing a Britain safe for socialism perhaps merely confirms the optimistic idealism of the past.

Of course Ralf Dahrendorf is not arguing against educational expansion. He is arguing that the crucial political factor is that they appear to share the same extensive heterogeneity of voting patterns. Indeed, so far as education is concerned there is a high degree of correlation between the distribution of voting inclinations in the profession and in the electorate in general.

Where a clearly defined interest emerges—Professor Dahrendorf cites overseas student fees which produced almost a unanimous response in the profession—it is often so narrow that it merely joins the plethora of second order issues

to which governments become vulnerable. It would certainly be difficult to draw from that example any proof of the special power of the "educational class".

There can, of course, be no denial that educationists are well represented in the Labour Party. A glance at the occupational backgrounds of Labour MPs provides one piece of graphic evidence. Yet in recent years the parliamentary party scarcely demonstrates an undue preoccupation with educational issues. Indeed, the judgement of many would be that Labour MPs show much greater expertise and commitment in very different areas of policy.

Nor is it the case in my experience that recent years that local parties have rated educational issues particularly highly. The annual conference agenda which reflects priorities submitted by local parties has seen education well down the list in recent years.

The Labour Party at all levels reflects that some partial disaffection evident in society as a whole with education and expansion did not guarantee economic growth. Indeed the Labour Party is presiding over a reduction in allocated resources which will ensure that the British system of higher reaches remains one of the most restricted and selective in the developed world.

Education in this country is facing a long struggle to maintain even a semblance of expansion. The immediate future is one of very limited growth and the more distant horizon offers only faint glimmers of hope. It is difficult to identify in the document *Higher Education into the 1990s* a clear and guaranteed strategy for expansion. It may therefore be a mistake to equate the educationist interest for holding excessive power and yet suffering from introspection; rather it needs a resurgence of confidence and a determination to challenge for its proper place in the sun.

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كتاب في الأصل



Robert Hornby offers an insider's guide to the way specialist companies can help universities

## How to make professional fund raising pay off

Historically, universities have been supported through benefactions since the thirteenth century. It was not until as late as 1919 that the state first intervened and then only at the request of the universities themselves which had become financially exhausted as a result of the 1914-18 war. Even then Oxford and Cambridge held out a good deal longer.

Today income from benefactions amounts to about 1 per cent of the recurrent grant from the University Grants Committee, again with the exception of Oxford and Cambridge where the figure is nearer 5 per cent. For those who wanted to see the end of patronage and the establishment of egalitarianism this has been a highly successful era; others, perhaps, more concerned with the welfare of the universities could regret losing the diversity of interests generated by idiosyncratic but often far-sighted donors.

But the full effect of what a university would be like bereft of any benefactions became apparent with the establishment of the new universities in the sixties. For the first time staff and students became aware of the deprivation signified by the term "UGC norms", and the rush was on to find the successors to the benefactors of the Middle Ages and the tycoons of the nineteenth century.

The results have been mixed. These vice-chancellors and principals with some previous experience who went about the task professionally seeking out the advice which exists within a limited number of fund-raising companies, brought off some startling results. At Warwick the Foundation Fund stands at £4m from a standing start of £2.5m raised in the early sixties with the help of a professional company.

Other universities in the same era achieved results of £1m or more and substantial donors were found: at Cambridge, the distinguished predecessors of the gift of the Salisbury collection with a complex in which to house it at more than £3m and the art centres with theatres at Sirling and Warwick at more than £500,000 a piece came to mind.

Strongly enough, it has been at

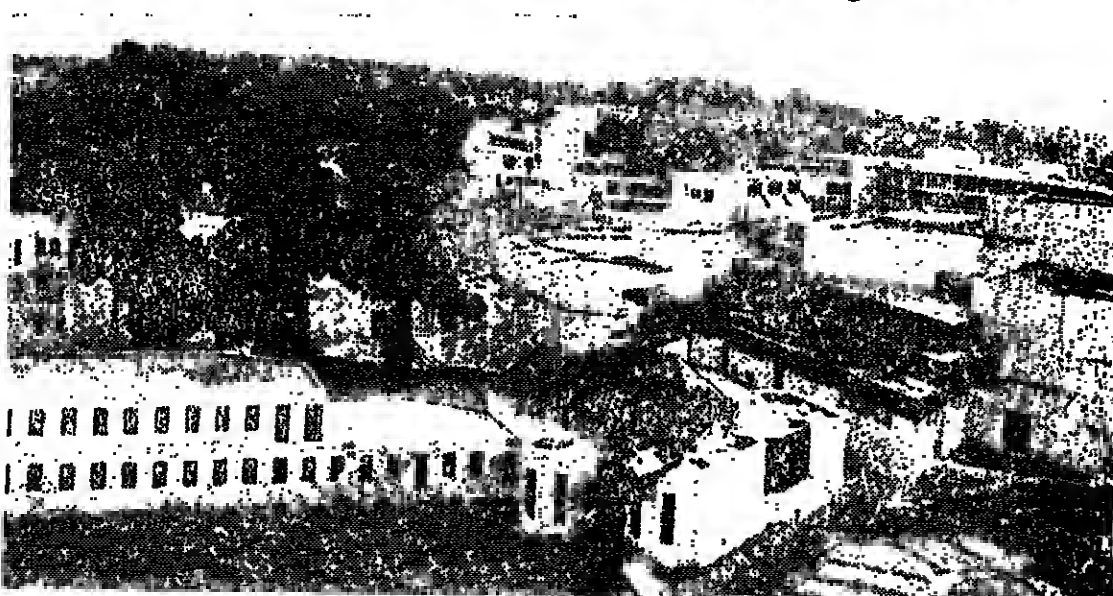
Oxford and Cambridge where the amateur approach has lasted longest. Fearful of letting anyone probe the mystique of college financing, it is still very much the prerogative of the president, master or what you will to exclaim: "Whatever became of old us and so the rich chap we had up in 19—" and to hope that a good dinner will produce the add million without all that claptrap about fund raising. And it must be said that from time to time that is just what happens, £1m or even, as at Cambridge £1m, can just fall "out of the sky". It is to be hoped that a good dinner will produce the add million without all that claptrap about fund raising. And it must be said that from time to time that is just what happens, £1m or even, as at Cambridge £1m, can just fall "out of the sky". It is to be hoped that a good dinner will produce the add million without all that claptrap about fund raising.

It is when this does not happen and the inflationary process erodes the possibility of any financial solution in particular as the months and years drift by that one must ask the questions, does the professional approach pay off and how can one arrest the upward cycle, itself a manifestation of inflation?

It must be said at once that no company of any integrity will promise to raise a given sum on a percentage basis nor is it likely to be successful in getting money on behalf of a faceless board of governors or university council.

What a company can do is to help plan a methodical campaign so that the full needs are analysed and the problems solved rather than merely shelved for another decade. It can help to create a structure whereby substantial donors can play a part in the planning and expenditure of the money raised without endangering the autonomy of the governing body; and without involvement those who either command wealth or are personally wealthy are not likely to be much interested. Only the naive can still believe that substantial sums can be raised by the "appeal" letter to the alumni or matter how distinguished the signatories.

More importantly the right company can help to ensure that the results of a campaign and ensure that there is some long term organization left behind to build on the considerable efforts which will have been made during the intensive period. There is also the time element. Surprisingly, seeking out that rich chap and getting him



Warwick University where £4m was raised from a standing start of £2.5m raised in the early 1960s by a professional company.

to dinner in the right company together with the follow up, or should one say softening up, process that is inevitable, can take longer than getting on with a proper plan and setting up a strong fund raising committee.

For sure no one person and no one company can be infallible in this field but sensible precautions can be taken. The "in depth" analytical study of a financial problem and a report which shows possible targets and likely sources of new money to meet them, aligned to a linear calendar of giving a real sense of urgency can at least obviate the worst pitfalls of idling and drift.

As preliminary discussions are usually on a non fee paying basis and an initial study can cost less than £2,000, bearing in mind this could result in a methodical campaign bringing in more than £1m, the ambivalent attitudes of academics to commercial associations need to be challenged by lay members of councils and governing bodies who carry the ultimate responsibility for the financial wellbeing of their institutions.

Admittedly one cannot find the answer to a fund raising problem by looking in the yellow pages—equally there is no need to employ a fund raising consultant or company without making the normal enquiries associated with engagement of any professional adviser. The names of the leading companies are well known. At any given time one or two Oxbridge colleges will be employing one of them. The most recent appeal to be handled professionally has been at Magdalen, Oxford where more than £1m has been promised.

What is important is to know the questions to ask before making a decision. Are you prepared as the vice-chancellor or prime officer to devote time and energy to work with the consultant or company in order to bring together people who will give financial leadership through their own gifts. Or do you just want to pay a fee and forget the whole thing letting the person you engage go round asking for the possibility of ever raising a substantial sum and will probably end up being all square when the fees are paid.

Nevertheless many still believe this is the way fund-raising companies operate. Does the company you favour specialize in capital raising if that is your need? Whatever choice is made it is worth checking with previous clients of the firm or individual.

Finally just what are you paying for when you seek professional advice? Above all it must be experience. If you need £1m or more it is not much use talking to someone whose last effort has been a few hundred thousand. Then you will have to work with the person concerned or the director appointed by the company. If personal relationships fail so does the campaign.

Successful fund raising is not about money but about people; the wish to involve them at all; the willingness to devote time and energy to the task; the willingness to give financial leadership through their own gifts. Or do you just want to pay a fee and forget the whole thing letting the person you engage go round asking for the possibility of ever raising a substantial sum and will probably end up being all square when the fees are paid.

The author, a director of a fund-raising company, was responsible for fund-raising and development at the University of Warwick.

## Will overseas numbers be squeezed as we tunnel the hump?

Crucial decisions have still to be made about foreign students studying in Britain. Alan Parker suggests some of the questions that should be asked.

Debate over tuition fees for overseas students has continued for 10 years varying in direction and intensity with the twists of government policy. The case against differential charges, on moral, economic and educational grounds has been made well and frequently. It has, however, had little apparent impact on government action with the exception of a brief period in 1976 when it was proposed to raise tuition fees for both home and overseas students to the same level as much higher level.

In practice this would have done little for overseas students except offer the cold comfort of knowing that self-financed students were being penalized to an equal extent. In the event the Government reverted to a scheme that reintroduced a proportionately smaller differential but retained a substantial all-round increase costing new hardship particularly for self-financing home postgraduates.

On this occasion as before the line adopted by the Government was dictated by the short-term demands of fiscal policy. When announcing this decision the Minister stated that it was the intention of the Government to abolish the differential when the economic position permitted. Nationally the extra sum raised by a higher overseas fee made a significant contribution to public expenditure cuts from a politically

safe quarter. At the level of the institution, when fee remissions, staff time and other costs arising from student hardship and its attendant problems are taken into account, it is doubtful if very much has been saved.

Over the past 12 months it has become clear that there is much more at issue than fixing a fair price to charge for a spell in higher education, and whether this should be greater for the "export market". In the studies the Robbins Report said it was good things that students and staff from overseas should participate in British higher education. The number of overseas students has climbed steadily from about 30,000 then to approximately 84,000 now.

This trend of expansion at a faster rate than home student numbers at a time when university resources are tightly constrained, led to a questioning of the role of overseas students in the United Kingdom and the resources it is correct that these questions should be asked, but it is important that they should be correctly framed and that appropriate measures are implemented intelligently.

The idea of introducing progressively higher fees for overseas students until they were equal to those of home students seems to have been dropped. The fee levels for 1978/79 have been stabilized by an increase of about 20 per cent of gross recurrent costs. Ministerial statements from Shirley Williams and Gordon Oakes have stated the need for a policy of financial responsibility for the development of the Third World and that a "long-term" study is under-

way at the Department of Education and Science.

While it is right and proper that ministers should be addressing themselves to those matters of high principle there has as yet been no sign of measures directed towards the available resources to those most in need and able to benefit. Indeed, recent policies are increasingly having the effect of raising obstacles for the less well-off student and enforcing an arbitrary restriction of numbers with little consideration of the needs of potential students or the receiving institutions.

The public expenditure White Paper published in January this year stated: "It is intended that in 1978/79 the number of overseas students, which has risen sharply in recent years should be reduced to about the level of 1975/76." Actual and projected figures show a decrease of 11,000 overseas students in higher education between 1976/77 and 1981/82. Since the number of students is expected to rise, this represents a percentage decrease from 10.8 per cent to 7.8 per cent in fact well below the 1975/76 level of 9.5 per cent.

It can hardly be a coincidence that this planned reduction coincides with the DES contemplation of "tunneling through the hump" of student demand set out in the paper *Higher Education in the 1990s*. Although this document made little more than a passing reference to overseas students it would be a mistake to attempt to manipulate the number of overseas students coming into the country as a balancing figure to flatten out the projected demand curve for higher education as a whole. It would be particularly unfortunate

if Roland Dohs is correct in his prediction that the so-called "hump" may rise, in fact materialize (THESE, June 23).

A further factor in the argument is that the EEC Commission is currently developing a policy that will require parity of treatment of students between member countries which could introduce a third level of distinction between home, overseas and EEC students.

Policy affecting overseas students is at a turning point. Present measures have had serious and unintended consequences causing individual hardship, restrictions on the autonomy and development of academic institutions and serious anomalies affecting some recent immigrants. External pressures at the moment in the pipeline can only exacerbate the situation if the Government continues to pursue short-term and partial solutions. What is needed and indeed what has been promised is an evaluation of the complete sphere of the overseas presence within British education.

Such a study should take on board certain broad objectives which can be formulated as follows:

1. The United Kingdom has political responsibilities in the sphere of international affairs particularly with regard to aid, trade and cultural links with foreign countries. These responsibilities can, in part, be met by lowering the barrier of cost to poorer students and providing opportunities for those deprived of them at home, as well as encouraging academic exchanges with other developed countries.

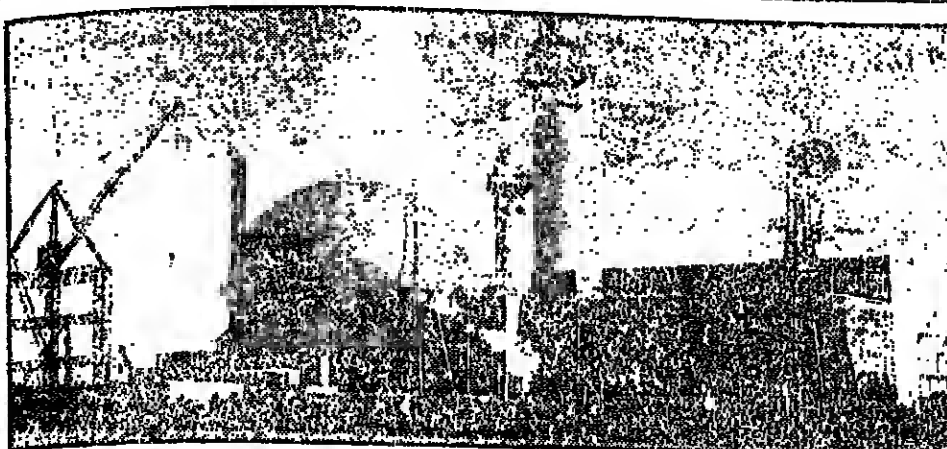
2. Institutions should be encouraged and supported in adopting a positive policy

towards overseas students to promote their contribution to the academic life of this country. The existing proportion of overseas students should be maintained but a greater degree of flexibility and local autonomy introduced in order to allow individual institutions to respond to particular circumstances while a rationalized national policy.

3. Finally there should be an immediate simplification of the plethora of regulations and restrictions applied to overseas students by various government departments. The differential fee, which is not only a barrier to the first objective outlined above but also an obstacle to economic gains, should be removed in line with a reduction of central interference with the admissions policy of individual institutions and sponsoring bodies alike.

These objectives are contained in a policy paper *Fees for the 80s*, submitted to the DES by the United Kingdom Council for Overseas Student Affairs. UKCOSA is a representative body of all sides of membership from education and higher and further education and can justifiably claim to represent a broad consensus of those concerned with the implementation of policy on overseas students. It is to be hoped that the Government will consider this paper carefully before announcing new arrangements.

The author is assistant executive secretary of the United Kingdom Council for Overseas Student Affairs.



## Energy research and social policy

Energy and resources in general have given much concern for many years, but it was undoubtedly the rapid increase of oil prices in 1973 that brought home the fragility of world economies unbuffered against fluctuations in energy supplies. Three lines of research began to expand; the exploration of new sources of fossil fuel, the better utilization of existing supplies of fossil fuels, and the study of alternative energy and power resources.

It is all too easy to view these as primarily technological and scientific problems, solvable within these areas of responsibility. This view is in the scientist is strangely paradoxical for it has been held at a time when the physical sciences and engineering have found it hard to recruit students. Even more strange is the unwillingness of many to accept that economics and the social demand for environmental acceptability are at least as important in the search for solutions.

It must be galling for nuclear power experts to be frustrated by public enquiries such as that on the Windscale reprocessing plant, and the promised one on the commercial fast breeder. Could it be that no wide collateral research was undertaken on the topics of public concern—waste disposal, accident analysis, and the biological effects of radiation? Certainly, the Flowers Report brought to light the tiny fraction, less than 1 per cent, of the cost of generating electricity in Magnox reactors estimated to be needed to treat, store and finally dispose of radioactive waste.

The reporting and evaluation of accidents also led to distrust by the public, but the rationalizing of efforts in this area is the over-publicity effect of the technological advances can actually produce the opposite of the desired effects. Comparisons with other industries, for example coal mining or chemical plants, fall to convince as much as might be expected and the root cause seems to be the nuclear radiation involved.

That there is a little reliable statistical information on the effects on man of nuclear radiation is itself a tribute to the care shown by nuclear workers, but it can be easily forgotten back at these same workers when they propose to build power stations that threaten to increase radiation levels. But once again, is there not clearly a need for more research, making sure that the analysis of existing data is as complete as possible, and that systems for the acquisition of future data are as wide-ranging as may be needed in years or even generations to come?

The low levels of radiation under consideration are clearly the problem here, but the energy medical doses are remarkably high at 20 per cent to 40 per cent of natural background and should provide much more information. It is in this context that the recent recommendations of the National Radiological Protection Board are so significant. Not only does the board suggest that the average annual radiation dose in the population should be controlled to less than 5 mrem per year, compared with the 170 mrem maximum accepted at present, but that the local natural background processes should not be more than 5 mrem per year.

These recommendations interpret documents of the International Commission on Radiological Protection, and the invitation to public debate before new legal limits are set is an innovation. Remarkably, all these maximum permissible doses are allowed on the basis of natural background and the present medical doses, in spite of the fact that the terrestrial component of natural background varies from only 30 mrem y<sup>-1</sup> in brick houses in London to 150 mrem y<sup>-1</sup> in the granite of Aberdeen.

With so many somatic hazards around us, such as transport and smoking, it is not surprising that the arguments against more nuclear radiation are weighted towards the genetic hazards, in particular the risk that could follow from a nuclear reactor disaster. Here the evidence is merely limited but it is strangely negative since there were fewer than expected genetically-linked abnormalities in the children born to survivors of the A-bombs.

Whatever the explanation, the fact seems to be that the "genetic burden" to the population produced by high levels of radiation is not what is so often feared, at least not in the first generation. On the other hand, the high natural background due to radioactive rocks in Kerala, South India (1,500 to 2,000 mrem y<sup>-1</sup>) is correlated with a high level of Down's syndrome and other forms of severe mental retardation in the area. The carcinogenic effects of radiation are fairly well established, the genetic effects certainly are not and require continued research.

The economics of nuclear power is a peculiarly frustrating and hazardous topic for scientists and engineers. On the one hand there is the untold military investment that enabled power reactors to be developed, and on the other there are the almost totally unquantifiable variations in market value of competing alternatives in the time scale of tens of years relevant to the building time and useful life of reactors. Commercially uncertain are the patterns of economic control likely to be encountered both nationally and internationally.

The difficulties here are aggravated by the short term interests of politicians and their unwillingness to face up to the dangers of encouraging the public to believe in the possibility of a sort of economic miracle. Growth that the Club of Rome exponential growth predictions are unrealistic, the fact remains that there are limits to energy growth as well as other kinds of growth. To ignore the signs of approach to these limits is to risk the most fundamental and serious threat to our civilization.

One of the attractive things about objections to nuclear power is that they are so fervently believed that they can lead to political changes involving precedence for principles such as environmental protection, rather than comfort as was shown recently in Sweden. In such a climate of opinion the investment of capital to develop alternatives seems simple economic arguments to be avoided.

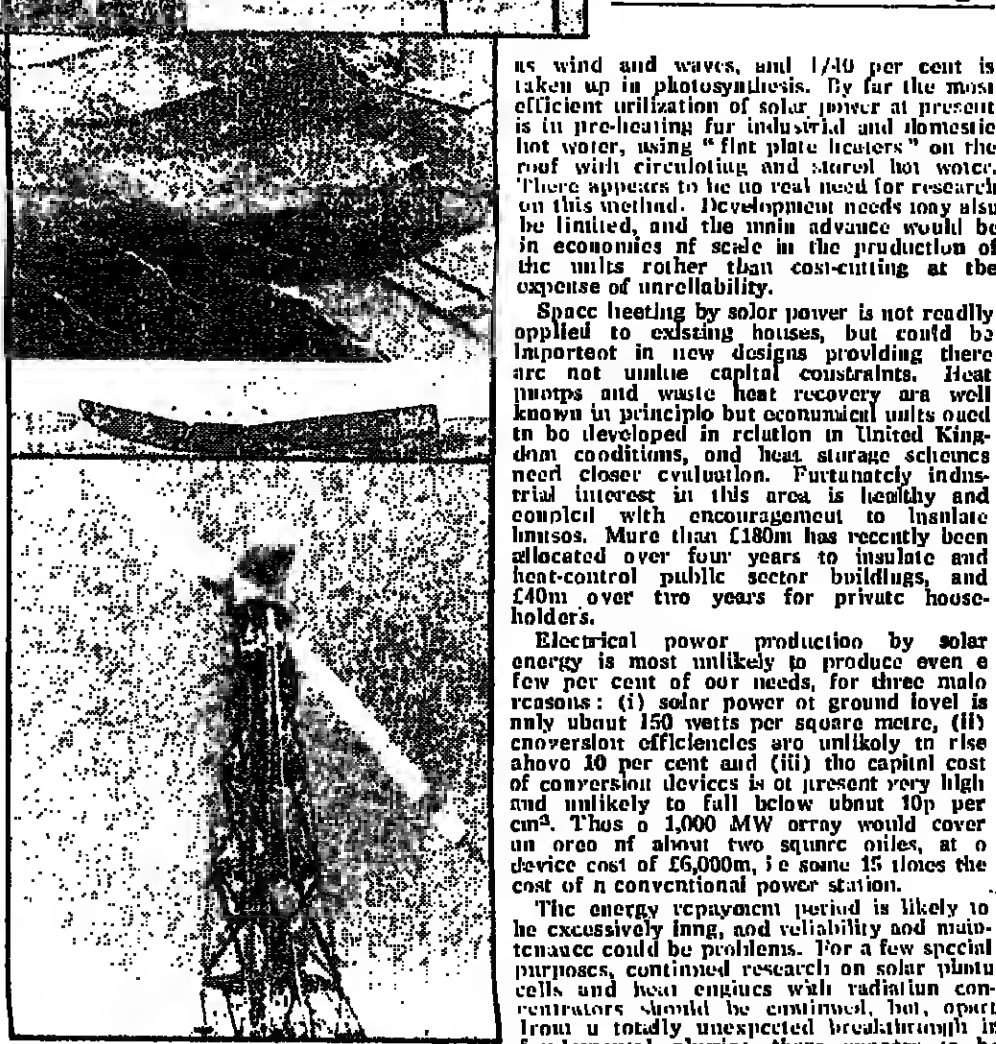
Coupled with the use of economic controls, and inevitable increases in costs of extraction of fossil fuels, this puts a premium on research into "power sources" such as solar, wind, tide and wind. It also urges for investment of capital in the insulation of houses leading to a possible 10 per cent saving in energy needs, and in the improved efficiency of public and private transport.

There is a surprising range of opinions on the power production potentials of even such long-established devices as wind generators. Quantitative estimates vary by factors of two or even more but it appears that a 100 MW array of wind generators comparable in power to one conventional power station would cost about £500m, and in half-mile intervals 1 MW generators would cost £100m. A 100 MW array would be about one mile wide by 150 miles long. Since the electrical power generated in the UK varies between 10 and 45 GW, these 1000 generators would yield only about 4 per cent of the total electricity, or only 1 per cent of the total energy usage. Even if they were scattered around the country to make them environmentally more acceptable, or sited offshore, it is clear that wind power could scarcely provide more than about 5 per cent of at most 10 per cent of the country's electricity at a cost comparable with present generators.

The basic technology is well understood and research can hope to produce only marginal improvements, except in the essentially associated topic of energy storage systems. Development of a 6000 MW power station, prototype, costing £34,000 has recently been initiated, with the construction and evaluation estimated at about £2m.

Tidal power is also limited in scope, but the importance of the Severn Barrage, and

What price are we willing to pay for alternative sources of energy, asks Professor E.J. Burge



Clockwise from top: Windscale nuclear power station; the Sellafield reprocessing plant; the Cockerell raft; and a wind powered generator.

of the few promising sites in the world, is indicated by the recently formed committee for review under Sir Hermann Bondi, with £1m for further studies of alternative schemes and construction methods. It would probably provide 3 in 6 GW of electricity, 10 to 15 per cent of present needs, at a cost of over £4,000m, and apart from uncertainties related to its environmental impact, appears to have many arguments in its favour.

One of the attractive things about objections to nuclear power is that they are so fervently believed that they can lead to political changes involving precedence for principles such as environmental protection, rather than comfort as was shown recently in Sweden. In such a climate of opinion the investment of capital to develop alternatives seems simple economic arguments to be avoided.

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Tidal power is also limited in scope, but the importance of the Severn Barrage, and

as wind and waves, and 1/40 per cent is taken up in photosynthesis. By far the most efficient utilization of solar power at present is in pre-heating for industrial and domestic hot water, using "flat plate heaters" on the roof with circulating and stored hot water. There appears to be no real need for research on this method. Development needs may also be limited, and the main advance would be in economies of scale in the production of the units rather than cost-cutting at the expense of unreliability.

Space heating by solar power is not readily applied to existing houses, but could be important in new designs providing there are not undue capital constraints. Heat pumps and waste heat recovery are well known in principle but economical only in the developed in relation in United Kingdom conditions, and heat storage schemes are not close to solution. Fortunately industrial interest in this area is healthy and coincides with encouragement to insulate houses. More than £180m has recently been allocated over four years to insulate and heat-control public sector buildings, and £40m over two years for private households.

Electrical power production by solar energy is most unlikely to produce even a few per cent of our needs, for three main reasons: (i) solar power at ground level is only about 150 watts per square metre, (ii) conversion efficiencies are unlikely to rise above 10 per cent and (iii) the capital cost of conversion devices is at present very high and unlikely to fall below about 10p per cm<sup>2</sup>. Thus a 1,000 MW array would cover an area of about two square miles, at a device cost of £6,000m, i.e. some 15 times the cost of a conventional power station.

The energy requirement for electricity is likely to be excessive, and reliability and maintenance could be problems. For a few special purposes, continued research on solar photo cells and heat engines with radiation concentrators should be continued, but apart from a totally unexpected breakthrough in fundamental physics, there appears to be no real hope of solar electricity generation on the scale considered in this review.

Electric power production from alternatives to fossil fuels and nuclear power is clearly unlikely to be able to produce more than about 30 per cent of our needs (or 30 per cent of our needs by the time oil and gas are seriously depleted in the timescale of 30 (or possibly 50) years. We therefore turn to coal, non-breeder reactors, breeder reactors and nuclear fusion.

Of the last, little can be said except that it will be expensive and unlikely to contribute electrical power before AD 2000-2020. Nuclear fusion research should continue to be supported in the European collaboration, and it presents some outstandingly challenging scientific and engineering problems. Non-breeder reactors could run out of uranium-235 fuel in the same timescale as oil and gas. Breeder reactors, whether fast or thermal, could extend this period 50 to 70 times, and more research is still needed even for the proposed 1300 MW Commercial Fast Reactor.

One avenue that appears promising aims at recovering the prime objection to the increased conversion of uranium-238 into plutonium-239, namely, the fear of terrorists and unconcerned nations who could easily separate the plutonium by chemical means and construct a nuclear bomb. If, instead, thorium-232 is converted to uranium-233, which is then mixed with the chemically identical uranium-238, it becomes extremely difficult to obtain the fissile material in a form suitable to make a bomb. This breeding of uranium-233 may be possible using the CANDU-type thermal reactor and research into this method could have a profound effect on the policy for breeding new nuclear fuels.

Our coal supplies, at present rates of usage, are seriously estimated as sufficient for 100 to 300 years. But if we are to rely on a significant increase in match the relatively sudden decreases in oil and gas supplies, the time-scale for developing new pits or new methods such as underground geosystems should not be underestimated.

In brief, we are beginning to see the shape of an energy policy with reliance on not one or two, but half a dozen complementary approaches and subject to continual review. Its very success could precipitate failures in other areas, such as the supply of material resources essential to high technology. Most important of all, it could lead to a breakdown of utility within, and co-operation between, societies of widely differing needs as they try to deal with the selfish demands of those who already have most, or do not have when enough is enough.

The author is head of the department of physics at Chelsea College, London.



D.I. McCallum analyses a new survey of FE students.

## The middle classes still rise to the top even among technicians

A recent survey of further education courses in 19 colleges has provided some unexpected insights into the abilities, aptitudes and backgrounds of the 4,061 students examined. Interim findings, contained in a report to the Social Science Research Council who funded the project, give some indication of the ways in which different categories of students take advantage of the opportunities afforded by further education.

A test was administered to all the students and this provided data regarding 10 aptitudes and abilities. In order to permit an examination of the way in which language related to socio-economic status, students were asked to record the occupation of the head of the household in which they spent most of their childhood. This information was then coded in accordance with the method employed for social grading in the national Readership Survey.

The distribution of students from different status groups is much as might have been expected, with teacher training courses attracting 68 per cent of their students from the highest three status groups. Other courses attracted smaller percentages, with the craft courses attracting the lowest proportion (32 per cent) from these status groups.

Table 1 shows the distribution, by socio-economic status, of students attending particular groups of courses. This gives a clear indication that it is the middle class students who are best able to take advantage of the available educational opportunities. An unexpected feature of the findings has been the discovery that, for craft and technical students, those from the highest three status groups score higher scores on all the sub-tests than those from the lowest three status groups, the majority of these differences being statistically significant.

An encouraging aspect of these findings is that they provide evidence that, although the middle class student may still have an advantage in getting onto many courses, the further education system gives some way to redress the

balance by enabling lower status students of relatively lower ability to enroll. Because the inclusion of data from students for whom English was not their first language might have provided misleading findings, great care was taken to ensure that such data could be excluded. Thus, data from any student for whom English might differ from the "traditional form" were coded accordingly. Table 2 shows scores obtained from white indigenous students. This shows clearly that the students from the higher status groups performed better on each of the tests. The differences are such that in general, "high status" craft students performed as well as "low status" technicians. A broadly similar pattern was apparent in the data from "overseas" students.

Evidence for a similar, but greater, positive discrimination in favour of overseas students is apparent in Table 3. For these students, the difference in mean scores is so great that the tests of verbal comprehension, general knowledge, non-verbal intelligence, mechanical comprehension and spatial ability, indigenous craft students obtained significantly higher mean scores than overseas students enrolled on technical courses.

Although mean scores provide useful guides about general levels of ability, they give no indication regarding individual differences. A characteristic of the findings has been the discovery, frequently remarked upon by college lecturers, of a wide range of abilities within even quite small classes. However, well planned and ordered a curriculum may be, what is actually taught and examined may be determined as much by the abilities of the students as by the ideas of the course planners.

Technical college classes composed of students with abilities ranging from the barely literate, or numerate, to those who possess several O or A level certificates may, particularly for students who attend only one day a week, have to adopt strategies which severely restrict the value of the subjects studied.

One immediately apparent solution to the difficulties caused by this wide range of abilities would be to provide the most able students

on a course with a more demanding programme of work, while the remainder follow a traditional course with perhaps greater emphasis on language and numerical skills. Unfortunately, such a procedure, however finely devised, would be unacceptable in many colleges because it might appear to place the overseas students at a disadvantage.

The new Technician Education Council courses go some way towards providing homogeneous classes with respect to abilities and attainment, by offering unit examinations to students with appropriate qualifications. It remains to be seen whether these qualifications may be reasonably equated with the contents of the units on which they are based.

Unless they are at least broadly comparable it is highly probable that, even on these courses, teachers will still be faced with the problems associated with teaching classes containing students with widely different abilities. The frequent phrase tests, which are a feature of TEC courses, may, however, provide a discreet but rather unsatisfactory way of resolving the problem by encouraging a prompt withdrawal of weaker students.

The completion of the major part of the survey confirmed earlier findings (FEES, May 27, 1977) that technical students perform much worse than college of education students on tests involving language. They score equally well on non-verbal intelligence tests but obtain significantly lower scores on tests of spatial ability.

Technical courses also include a relatively larger proportion of students from the lower three socio-economic status groups. It may have been because a partial knowledge of these facts that educationalists have concentrated on the development of language skills and assumed that these deficiencies can be attributed to the effects of social background. There has been almost no recognition of the high overall levels of non-verbal and spatial abilities of technical students and the need to plan for the extremely wide range of abilities further education teachers have to cope with. It is also clear that the qualities of thinking which are associated with technical and engineering subjects were recognized and valued rather than

TABLE 1  
Courses ranked in order of percentage of high socio-economic status students enrolled

Socio-economic status	Unclassified	A	B	C1	C2	D	E	F
Teacher Training	5.5	2.9	32.6	32.9	19.5	6.2	0.1	0.1
"A" level, Not Cert	6.0	3.1	31.6	29.7	24.7	4.7	0.2	0.1
Education, Beauty, Dressmaking & Nursery Nannies	9.2	10.3	32.2	18.4	26.4	3.4	0.0	0.0
Secretarial, Clerical & Accounting	6.5	2.8	23.6	33.2	25.5	7.5	0.9	0.1
Technicians	8.5	0.7	12.4	22.7	48.1	7.6	0.1	0.1
Craft	11.0	0.5	10.5	20.0	49.0	6.9	0.2	0.1
Total Sample	8.5	1.7	19.2	25.4	38.0	6.9	0.2	0.1
Population Distribution	3	12	22	32	23	9		

TABLE 2  
Mean Test Scores for Different Status Groups (English as first language)

Verbal comprehension	5.34 (2.36)	4.73 (2.33)	5.82 (2.52)
General knowledge	4.16 (1.88)	3.87 (1.97)	4.43 (1.88)
Arithmetic	3.47 (1.52)	3.06 (1.64)	3.61 (1.73)
Non-verbal Intelligence	9.23 (2.45)	8.21 (2.74)	9.57 (2.73)
Mechanical comprehension	5.43 (2.81)	4.62 (2.93)	6.31 (3.07)
Spatial ability	4.23 (2.28)	3.67 (2.11)	4.68 (2.21)

(Standard deviations shown in brackets)

TABLE 3  
Mean Test Scores

TEST	Craft (Indigenous N=950)	Overseas (N=121)	Technicians (Indigenous N=109)	Overseas (N=35)
Verbal comprehension	4.84	2.89	5.46	3.32
	(2.15)	(2.04)	(2.45)	(2.04)
General knowledge	4.16	3.87	4.43	4.03
	(1.88)	(1.97)	(1.88)	(1.88)
Arithmetic	3.47	6.80	3.61	6.80
	(1.52)	(1.64)	(1.73)	(1.73)
Non-verbal Intelligence	9.23	8.21	9.57	8.21
	(2.45)	(2.74)	(2.73)	(2.73)
Mechanical comprehension	6.56	12.93	6.56	12.93
	(2.81)	(3.07)	(3.07)	(3.07)
Spatial ability	4.23	3.67	4.68	4.68
	(2.28)	(2.11)	(2.21)	(2.21)

observed in an education system which focuses on language.

Our findings provide a partial answer to the question of why technical students perform much worse than college of education students on tests involving language. They score equally well on non-verbal intelligence tests but obtain significantly lower scores on tests of spatial ability.

Technical courses also include a relatively larger proportion of students from the lower three socio-economic status groups. It may have been because a partial knowledge of these facts that educationalists have concentrated on the development of language skills and assumed that these deficiencies can be attributed to the effects of social background. There has been almost no recognition of the high overall levels of non-verbal and spatial abilities of technical students and the need to plan for the extremely wide range of abilities further education teachers have to cope with. It is also clear that the qualities of thinking which are associated with technical and engineering subjects were recognized and valued rather than

## BOOKS

### The Russians are coming!



Atlee, Truman and Stalin before the Potsdam Conference in August, 1945.

Shattered Peace: the origins of the Cold War and the National Security State by Daniel Yergin. Andre Deutsch, £7.95 ISBN 0 233 96970 5

It is readily agreed that the Cold War began with a loosening of ties that ceased to bind with the defeat of a common enemy, and some believe that it was made inevitable by ideological conflict and/or the "natural" restoration of a balance of power. Inevitably, however, a poor rationale for diplomatic history. It has not inhibited numerous attempts to establish "turning points" and to appropriate culpability.

In the orthodox interpretation the United States "got itself together" (to quote Dean Acheson) during that famous "fifteen weeks" in the spring of 1947 when the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan were formulated as a better-late-than-never acceptance of a "responsibility" in the face of the Russian threat to the Western world. According to the revisionist (but now largely discredited) view, however, the United States had been pursuing a highly calculated "strategy" towards the Soviet Union involving economic blackmail and the demonstration of military power at Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Daniel Yergin's *Shattered Peace* is the latest contribution to this continuing debate, and, appropriately enough for a product of this kind, it asks whether some form of deliberate war was not possible earlier, much earlier. It is primarily a work of synthesis, and its main claim to originality lies in its organizational premises. Unlike the study of Alperovitz it offers no startling new interpretation. There are obvious debts to other works in the genre, notably to Ernest R. May's *Letters from the Past*, John L. Gaddis's *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War*, and John Gumbel's *The American Occupation of Germany*.

In its estimate of Soviet intentions for ambitions, Yergin advances the "best assumption" (which he calls the "Yalta axioms") over the "worst assumption" (which he calls the "Riga axioms"). The campaign for the "Yalta axioms" is a national one. The "Riga axioms" are a national one. The "Yalta axioms" are a national one. The "Riga axioms" are a national one.

Yergin follows Gaddis in arguing that the "Yalta axioms" were arrived in Washington at an important "turning point". Truman's Secretary of State, Jimmy Byrnes, had shown himself to be a tough negotiator at the Potsdam conference in July 1945, but he also believed in a "big power" policy of working with, rather than against, the Soviet Union.

"Riga axioms" were not the product of an observation post on the Soviet Union prior to diplomatic relations in 1933, assumed that "Yalta" and ideology and a spirit of "Yalta" aggressiveness shaped the "Yalta axioms".

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get, and which he also treats as a statement of the "Riga axioms". It is here that Czechoslovakia is something of a test case—not only of American diplomacy but of the primacy Yergin gives to politics in the United States too readily gave up Czechoslovakia for lost and did little or nothing to help Benes and Masaryk resist a full Communist take-over. But these critical failures of policy were as much the result of an exclusive economic ideology as of political dogmatism and resentment at Czech diplomatic behaviour (regarded as being unduly subservient to the Soviet Union).

There was a conflict of interest between opposing the extension of the Soviet Union's sphere of influence and opposing socialist economic policies such as the nationalization of industry. In Soviet-American confrontation (1973), Thomas J. Patterson shows that Czechoslovakia became the "primo target" for the diplomatic use of economic "leverage" with a "Chilean policy" of "strategic non-leadership" (the usual blackmail). The "Yalta axioms" were not the product of an observation post on the Soviet Union prior to diplomatic relations in 1933, assumed that "Yalta" and ideology and a spirit of "Yalta" aggressiveness shaped the "Yalta axioms".

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of the breakdown of East-West relations are not sufficient. It is here that Czechoslovakia is something of a test case—not only of American diplomacy but of the primacy Yergin gives to politics in the United States too readily gave up Czechoslovakia for lost and did little or nothing to help Benes and Masaryk resist a full Communist take-over. But these critical failures of policy were as much the result of an exclusive economic ideology as of political dogmatism and resentment at Czech diplomatic behaviour (regarded as being unduly subservient to the Soviet Union).

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## South of the border

The Frontier in Latin American History by Alberto Fuenmayor. Edward Arnold, £8.95 ISBN 0 7131 5915 4

The study of Latin American history has been dominated by the standpoint of the metropolitan, the city, and civilization. The periphery has been relatively neglected. The Latin American frontier has produced little mythology, few heroes, and no Frederick Jackson Turner. Yet the history of the sub-continent contains a great diversity of frontiers and yields a wide range of typologies—the mining frontiers of Mexico and Peru, the agricultural frontiers of the River Plate countries, Brazil and northern Mexico, the mission frontiers of Paraguay, the Orinoco, and California, and the "hard" frontiers of unvanquished Indians.

Aspects of these various subjects, of course, are known in varying degrees. But Professor Fuenmayor is the first historian to place the Latin American frontier in the framework of a general frontier thesis, identifying origins, typologies, destinies, and inter-American comparisons. The result is a book which gives new insights into old topics and places familiar themes in a fresh context of reference. It is superior to most general studies of Latin American history both in its style and its interest; at the same time it educates the specialist by providing comparisons and a conjunction of specialists.

The book begins with an examination of the thesis of Frederick Jackson Turner on the significance of the frontier in American history, but in Latin American history, but as a theoretical introduction, and a starting point for comparisons. The author then examines what he calls the "mythical" frontiers of expansion—El Dorado, imperial mission, and religious messianism—in order to explain the theoretical framework of the frontier thesis. He then examines the rapid arrival of the conquerors at exposed frontiers of the New World. He considers the institutions by means of which the conquerors consolidated their rule: the *encomienda*, *hacienda* and *plata*, and the process of colonialization and early settlement. This leads into the heart of the book, a long study of types of frontier based on a range of impressive knowledge of the history of all the Americas.

In addition to the more obvious religious, economic, and social frontiers, the author describes some lesser-known variations, such as the "mythical" frontier of runaway slaves, the rubber frontier of Amazonia, and, among frontier types, the bandit and mestizo frontiers of the twentieth century. The book ends with a consideration of "comparative perspectives". In which the author looks for similarities and differences in the frontier settlements of North, Central and South America. Themes for further discussion might be suggested—the role of firearms and other weapons in extending and defending frontiers. The influence of Amerindian modes across the frontier into white society—but one can only applaud the rich content already explored.

This book is a good example of the beneficial interaction of teaching and research. A product of a teacher's search for coherence in Latin American history, for a conceptual framework which to organize numerous regions, themes and facts, it also contributes a specialist's knowledge of the general and the particular in Latin American development. Moreover, the book has a truly American dimension, in which the author—one of the few historians who could do it—compares and contrasts the Latin American frontier experience with that of the United States and Canada.

It is not a coincidence that the book emanates from the School of Comparative American Studies of the University of Warwick. May it be the pioneer of many others.

Stuart Morris

John Lynch

## Prices report that is 'not worth the paper it is written on'

Peter Curwen takes issue with the Price Commission on its analysis of the technical book trade

In June 1978, the Price Commission published its report on "prices, costs and margins in the publishing, printing and distribution of books, with particular reference to technical books". The report appears to have been instigated at the behest of a few academics whose cries of outrage or rising book prices should have been ignored for the time being as the commission ultimately found to its own and the taxpayers' cost. After a lengthy investigation, the report's only real recommendation is that "publishers could reasonably exercise restraint in raising prices of technical books for a considerable period" with the commission monitoring such prices through the exercise of existing powers.

Under the circumstances we may reasonably ask ourselves why the report turned out to be such a damp squib, and whether it really provides us with a fair and proper analysis of the book trade. In the first place it must be said that the book trade simply is not organized in such a way as to suggest that the customer is being "ripped-off". There are, for example, some 1,700 publishers producing some 36,000 different products each year; the report acknowledges that printing is a "relatively competitive trade"; and book-selling is a notoriously unprofitable business unless conducted on a large scale.

It comes as no surprise therefore to find that in no respect other than in the case of a mere seven or eight "specialists" in technical book publishing are rates of return on capital employed found to be any better than adequate.

It may be noted, however, that defining what is meant by a "technical book" is anyway somewhat problematic. Publishers do not normally distinguish their output in this way. The Department of Trade and Industry produces statistics relating to "technical and scientific" books, but the commission chose to produce its own definition of "technical books" as "books used in formal education beyond the secondary stage", thereby including "scientific, technical, academic, reference, medical and professional books". It would seem therefore that the ambiguity introduced by the term "technical" suggests the need for caution in positing publishers' "specializing" in that area.

Not that the commission necessarily played upon those "specialists" who, in the case of a mere seven or eight "specialists" in technical book publishing are rates of return on capital employed found to be any better than adequate.

Such a conclusion is warranted by the fact that the seven "specialists" who arouse the comparative ire of the commission account for 84 per cent of technical book sales recorded by the "large" firm group

for whom statistics are published, whereas this is a considerable overstatement of the degree of dominance to be found in this area of publishing when all "large" firms are taken into account.

The rationale for the commission's concentration upon these seven firms can be found in their sales figures of return on capital. They found that whereas these seven earned about the same as non-specialist firms of equivalent size in 1976, they did much better in 1977, and so on again in 1977. My own calculations using published data suggest that technical book publishers for the most part did better than other firms in 1976, although they had a "down" year in 1977.

But the commission acknowledges that 1976 was not all that exceptional anyway in that returns were about the same as in 1973. Furthermore all their calculations were on a "cost basis", that is, adjusted for inflation is a very necessary operation these days although it is extremely difficult to do in practice, especially where, as in publishing, the cost of capital employed is tied up in stock.

Some publishers, for example, periodically raise the price of a particular book as it is drawn off the stock over a period of years whereas others stick to the original price. The Publishers' Association, the body of authors to adjust the accounts submitted to the commission to allow for inflation, were provided with real rates of return which they argue are "barely sufficient to provide for future

investment and to maintain the value of the business".

The PA goes on to argue that although the seven specialists did much better than the average in 1976 this was the direct result of their being numbered among the most efficient firms in the industry, and that their basis for return was not exceptional in relation to those earned by equally efficient firms in other industries.

It is difficult to comment on this latter point because even the PA itself cannot identify with certainty the seven firms in question, and there is no way in which this can be done with any degree of accuracy by anyone else. But it is a little surprising that the report makes no attempt to take account of the efficiency issue because it points out in its conclusions that high profits depend upon the strength of a publisher's list.

Yet a strong list is a sign of enterprise and efficiency especially in a specialist industry, as I have suggested above, is considerably more competitive than the report would have us believe, and which is unusually dependent upon export sales.

The commission, again surprisingly, almost ignores firms outside the "large" group of 44 firms sampled, presumably because they would find nothing about their affairs which could be deemed to affect the public interest. This inevitably imparts a further distortion to the report. It is almost as though, having discovered seven "efficient" publishers, the commission deliberately chose to compare their behaviour by ignoring the behaviour of the 1,650 or so

small firms. It certainly did not affect of playing down the impact of competition within the industry.

Finally, what are we to make of the report's conclusion with respect to technical book publishing? It is a book which is written down by a commission which is not a technical book publisher, and which is written down by a commission which is not a technical book publisher, and which is written down by a commission which is not a technical book publisher.

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## The theories of free schooling

**David E. Coopes**

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## BOOKS

## Divine Right of intellect

The Idea of the Clergy in the Nineteenth Century  
by H. C. Knight  
Cambridge University Press, £12.50  
ISBN 0 521 21798 9

This excellent book deals with a topic of great historical and practical importance. When C. S. Lewis coined the word "clergy" in about 1818, years before Catholic Emancipation and the first Reform Bill, he showed a far-sighted awareness of things to come.

From one point of view, the idea contained in the word is an adaptation to existing English conditions of the responsible office of the clergyman, but it is not an actual command; but it would be an influence both government and general opinion that fully and ignorance would be restrained, or at least prevented from dominating. They would set the times. Sir C. Lewis was looking back, more than two thousand years, but he was also looking forward. It was the decline in authority of traditional institutions, like the monarchy and the Church of England, and the growing power of masters of the intellect or uneducated people that made the problem urgent and dispiriting.

Could the idea of Divine Right be transferred from kings to an educated class? Would people who were unimpressed with a royal title in a hereditary aristocracy be able to accept such a transfer? The idea had at least some success with Aristotle and Placemasters, or Newton and Descartes?

When we put the question like this, it is very easy to see that it contained an unresolvable paradox. The clergy as such does not have doctrines or even opinions in common; only studies and abilities. Two things are more likely to be common to those who have not in common public schools or universities or nationalized schools. If one turns to the educated class for guidance about any given public issue, one will hear

many a babble of conflicting voices. Kings can rule because they have no king at a time. Priests can rule because they have certain traditional doctrines and principles which protect differences of personality. What doctrines and principles does an educated class have?

It is in their position to this dilemma that the leading figures of Mr. Knight's study differ. C. S. Lewis appeared to hope, though he must have found it difficult quite to believe, that an educated class could be formed who did agree on essentials, who accepted the Anglican system, Victorian agnosticism, the Catholic revival and the admission of the dissenters into positions of influence would all prosper within a generation or so of C. S. Lewis's death to make his hope chimerical.

Carlyle's opinion was, as usual, self-contradictory. He appealed at the same time to force and to a directly sanctioned authority. It was when the thinking public began to realize this illogicality that he began to lose his influence.

Mill deserves credit (fully accorded to him by Knight) for meeting the intractable problem head on. He never pretended that an educated class would always tend to agree. But he placed a faith which must now seem to us utopian in the power of argument. The true idea for the right policy would tend to emerge from a process of calm and informed argument between people whose studies and abilities equipped them to know a good argument from a bad.

But those who will readily follow an argument where it leads are few even among the educated class, a small minority of a small minority, and it is not likely that their view will predominate. Moreover there is no guarantee that even these few have souls will agree. Two of the most intelligent and humane of Mill himself and Newman, and they did not agree about many things. Knight, who is in general extremely fair, is by accident

slightly unfair to Mill who quotes: "I do not regard as a rule among those who are good in themselves, a curious statement of his admirable advice for women." Surely this was a belief consistent here. He believed that the one is best advised by those with a plain judgment, your reason will be people of high sense, and those you exclude.

Matthew Arnold, who knew more of the actual workings of the system than the other leading figures in this book, saw the danger of the educated class moving of time and feeling that it was hence the importance for the literature as an education. The educated man may be a Christian and another may be a humanist, but both will agree in the greatness of Dante and Shakespeare, and perhaps this shared sensibility will tend to solve some of the problems of the day.

The danger of this is not that it is impractical but that it is altogether too practical. The history of the last century is a history of the failure of the educated class to do more than to agree. It is a history of the failure of the educated class to do more than to agree. It is a history of the failure of the educated class to do more than to agree.

Fair, balanced and patient, it is and little as he intrudes on the processes of his own mind. He considers the idea of the clergy as a religion, devoted men who vainly dream of enlightenment.

Whether it is right is each reader must decide for himself. A. O. J. Cocks

## Some versions of dissent

The Dissenters  
Volume 1: from the Reformation to the French Revolution  
by Michael R. Watts  
Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press, £15.00  
ISBN 0 19 823460 5

Michael Watts is fully aware of his achievement—the first substantial history of English and Welsh dissent since 11. W. Clark's of 1911-13. In between, despite an increasing number of important but concentrated studies, only brief surveys have disturbed the dissenting section of a transformed discipline.

The daunting scope of the subject accounts for such poverty of performance, for the scholar must explain the continuing importance for historical study of a collection of people, never homogeneous, who only once came close to controlling their country, and whose continuity after a century of evolution was barely 6 per cent of the population.

Of course, they also presented an alternative view of society; their John Smyth penned the first comprehensive plea from an Englishman for Christian religious freedom; in Baptists and Methodists they fostered two of the world's biggest Protestant denominations; thanks to them too England became Europe's first modern pluralist society. And all they wanted was to worship freely; only a few dissenters out of consecrated consensus.

Watts begins with Anabaptists in Flemish England and backward liberation. For Christianity, he is the liberating reality of truth. He dialogue and no synthesis can get round that difference. Dale Vree has performed a major intellectual service in pointing that out.

David Martin

charts their evolving, often contradictory, attitudes in Church and State, alert in pursuit of the development of dissent in Europe and America. He explains the development of dissent, its physical setting and its doctrinal context. If the dissenters' movement is to be seen as a history of dissent, it is a history of dissent. It is a history of dissent. It is a history of dissent.

Perhaps the chief reservation about this treatment of dissent is that it is a history of dissent. It is a history of dissent. It is a history of dissent.

The book is admirably structured, sometimes in shade. It is written clearly, on the justified assumption that dissenters speak best when speaking pluriest for themselves. It is very full. When Watts reaches dissent as we know it, he is a scholar. This is most useful when those scholars are Americans, their perspectives of the same Puritanism defined by a quite different subsequent history.

Yet Watts's achievement comes almost by default, more easily dismissed as sound than acclaimed as brilliant. It is not easy to explain why this should be so, for the elegance of his writing is there—the large view glimpsed rather than seen clear. The combination of singular fact and individual characterization, the sense of place. Statistics are deployed convincingly.

E. P. Thompson's view of dissent and dissenters is gently challenged. Methodism is sensibly compared to small enough. Watts writes of dissent as a history of dissent. It is a history of dissent. It is a history of dissent.

Perhaps the chief reservation about this treatment of dissent is that it is a history of dissent. It is a history of dissent. It is a history of dissent.

Yet though he may suspect dissent, he is not a dissent. It is a history of dissent. It is a history of dissent. It is a history of dissent.

Clyde Blanton

## BOOKS

## Bringing fossil communities to life

The Ecology of Fossils: an illustrated guide  
by W. S. McKerrrow  
Duckworth, £14.00  
ISBN 0 7156 0944 0

Paleontologists are concerned with more than just the classification of fossils. The animals of former times were once alive and lived in particular environments and in definite associations, and it is the task of paleoecology to find out about these relationships. This new book is primarily concerned with community ecology through time.

The book has 14 chapters, the first being an introduction to paleoecology. The second is a history of the classification of marine organisms (to ordinal level for some groups but not others), and the remaining chapters, written by several authors, contain illustrated descriptions of fossil communities from the late Precambrian to the present day. There are 17 maps showing the configuration of continents, oceans and shelf seas in former times, and 125 "community reconstructions"—block diagrams with the animals drawn in their inferred positions and in relation to the substrate.

The drawings are attractively presented, but they can be faulted in detail. In particular the extinct trilobites are not well drawn—some have too many segments, others have only four segments, and often the tails seem ready to drop off. Likewise no account is taken of how crinoids (sea-lilies) are now known to hold their arms when feeding. Inexplicably there is no reconstruction of a Precambrian community.

The text is very interesting, and brings a lot of information together, but the quality is very variable and in many ways it does not make the book what it should. First, although there is a glossary, definitions generally are weak, even the

essential concept of community structure being treated in too summary a fashion. While many communities are portrayed by system (and not perhaps without a certain "museum catalogue" feel), they are not treated dynamically. There is rarely any real attempt to discuss the evolution of communities or, for instance, whether the number of ecological niches available has increased through time.

To take an example, the specialized communities associated with reefs of various ages are described, but it is never really clear just what a reef is (a good definition on page 266 comes too late). It is not shown that reefs themselves have changed through time, nor that communities have changed as well. There are a few within any one reef are successional. The geological context of the communities generally is all too often amorphous. We are taken for a tour over former continental shelves, finding life assemblages here and there, but just where we are at any one time is rarely clear, and a unifying theme or model to which the communities themselves are related is often lacking.

The examples illustrated are nearly all of fossil communities from English rocks; overseas readers might find this parochial. But, since it is evidently intended for the British market, why (except in the excellent chapter on Devonian communities) are locusts so rarely specified? Where these given, any student could see the field evidence upon which the reconstructions are based. It is a pity that there is no summary, for it might have tied the information together more effectively.

In short, the work is lacking in objective rigour, and far too many opportunities have been missed. But in other ways this unique and attractively produced book goes far to bring fossil assemblages to life. Therein lies its greatest value.

E. N. K. Clarkson

## The sensitivity of plants

Plants and Temperature  
by James Sutcliffe  
Edward Arnold, £3.00 and £1.50  
ISBN 0 7133 2676 0 and 2677 9  
Transport Phenomena in Plants  
by Denis A. Baker  
Chapman and Hall, £17.5  
ISBN 0 412 15360 2

These two books are aimed at the ends of the further education spectrum, but while Sutcliffe speaks to the sixth-form or first-year undergraduate student, Baker has something to say to everybody.

The first two chapters of *Plants and Temperature* deal with the physical environment, describing the range of temperatures found in nature and the causes of temperature fluctuations. The origin of temperature effects in radiation and convection energy flows is introduced, and the book is a good introduction to the study of plant physiology. The principles are applicable to plants, houses, and wash-tubs. However, this part

of the book does not fully develop the theme to include the diurnal fluctuations of temperature which are so important biologically and which are talked about in chapter four, which deals with temperature and growth.

Chapter three gives a very quantitative treatment of the effects of temperature on metabolism, and contrasts with the rather qualitative approach in energy flows in the previous chapter. Chapter five covers frost resistance, and includes Levitt's hypothesis on the injurious effects of freeze dehydration on protein aggregation that may determine the lower limit of tolerance of a particular plant.

However, the accumulation of ice between cells of hardy plants which causes the dehydration is not properly treated, and this is a pity because the splitting of soft tissues is easily demonstrated and provides interesting winter exercises. In plant anatomy as well as being a vital aspect of frost tolerance itself. The last chapter covers high temperature tolerance, and there is a bibliography for both further reading and for references.

*Transport Phenomena in Plants* opens with the most illuminating first paragraph one could have in fluid-drawing attention to the full significance of ion accumulation and its association with photosynthesis. The book covers ion transport across membranes and its relation to electron flow and ATP metabolism, the parallel pathways for ion and water movement provided by the symplast and the apoplast, the driving forces available for both of them, and gives a lengthy treatment of phloem transport.

A learner unfamiliar with modern ideas on ion transport could well be with diagrams to illustrate the theory as well as the graphs which illustrate the experimental procedures of membrane systems, but there is a very clear description of the criteria which suggest the presence in a system of active transport phenomena. Baker gives a summary of the current state of play on the mechanism of stomatal action, the

movement of potassium, and leaf salt glands and hairs, and also draws attention to the fundamental nature of the use of photosynthetic energy for ion pumping in the absence of carbon dioxide.

The chapters on the symplast and apoplast are mostly about ion movement, but they are so clear and the anatomy of the book is so well described that for these alone the book could be recommended in students' or teachers' or all stages of education who might be interested in or puzzled by plant-water relations, a subject which is badly affected by the persistence of out-of-date texts.

The concluding remarks are as pertinent, sensible and profound as the opening is stimulating. The diagrams are first rate and are used whenever possible to link function with anatomy. There is a short bibliography at the end of each chapter with the authors' own remarks on each entry. This little book was a pleasure to read, for I found the familiar to be elegantly done and the unfamiliar to be instructive.

D. B. Idle

## Surveying the world's vegetation

Introduction to World Vegetation  
by J. S. Collinson  
John Wiley, £6.50 and £3.50  
ISBN 0 471 50112 5 and 501013 3

To understand and to describe the vegetation of the world is a task of considerable proportions. Adequately to do this, one needs a knowledge of the distribution of the species, the geographical and ecological factors of climate and soil, of energy flow and productivity. In fact, the author has done surprisingly well; and within his almost impossible terms of reference, he could hardly have done better. The first part of the book, entitled "Environmental and Ecological Principles", consists of six chapters of potted botany and ecology, which provide at least an outline of knowledge. He has also presented a sketch of the more relevant soil

and climatic factors and the ways in which these can be measured and assessed.

In the second half of the book, the author deals, in eight chapters, with the pattern of world vegetation. One of the best chapters, on tropical forests, gives information on structural characteristics, climatic relationships, productivity and mineral cycling, soil types, and seasonal relationships. Recent work is critically discussed and there is a good bibliography to this, as to other chapters. But the treatment of some of the chapters, for example that on the vegetation of estuaries and salt marshes, is very superficial and the concept of the life-form of the plants, which might have helped students to understand the shape

and texture of the vegetation, is barely utilized—the term does not even appear in the index. Floristic information is also very scanty—perhaps enough for a geographer but certainly not enough for a botanist.

In spite of its condensation, this is a well written book. What it means to school and college readers, who will often have little first-hand knowledge of the plants or plant communities of the British Isles, let alone the world, I do not dare predict. For the more experienced reader, there are some valuable insights and a series of well designed graphs and diagrams which are hard to find elsewhere.

D. H. Valentine

## Multiplying organisms

Biology of Reproduction  
by Peter J. Hagarth  
Blackie, £6.95  
ISBN 0 216 90567 2

All living species reproduce, but there is a serious lack of good textbooks about the processes of reproduction. This results in at least partly due to the disparity between the techniques of endocrinology, embryology and behaviour, and accounts for the reluctance of many workers and teachers to see reproduction as a unified subject area within biology.

For obvious reasons, nearly all behavioural and physiological research has been on domestic mammals with some attention to poultry and fish; but nearly all the classical embryology and histology of invertebrates and amphibians, still favouring mammals for developmental biologists. Our knowledge of human reproduction is still very patchy, from sources as diverse as medical pathology, anthropology, sex ethics and population statistics. Any small book attempting to cover this vast range of expertise and organism must necessarily be shallow, and cannot properly deal with its subject matter at a "tertiary level" which I take to be placed about third year undergraduate and level.

Hagarth has got his level about right; he deals in some depth with a whole gamut of reproduction topics, from spores to ethics. However, this strength of subject is also the book's major weakness; the only organisms described are mammals, and few of these besides rat, mouse, sheep and man. This means that the book covers very much the same material as the Austin and Short series of six books on reproduction in mammals, and comparison will inevitably be made with this series.

Widely, it gains by consistency, brevity, linkage between topics, and a touch of humour. It uses his failure to summarize subjects other than broad categorizations of the "More information may enable us to..." pattern, by some very sketchy figures, and by some errors of presentation. For example, maternal weight, litter weight and gestation time are compared, but not for germ volume; densities of weight (e.g. mammals from 0.1–1 kg, from 100–1000 kg) are shown, and there is in way of relating the very detailed figures in other columns to real organisms, or even to several species, or whatever. Usually the language is clear, precise and concise, but there are occasional exceptions: "... trophoblastic cells are deported from the uterus in the blood circulation, and settle in the lungs or some other suitable part of the mother's body".

The concluding remarks are as pertinent, sensible and profound as the opening is stimulating. The diagrams are first rate and are used whenever possible to link function with anatomy. There is a short bibliography at the end of each chapter with the authors' own remarks on each entry. This little book was a pleasure to read, for I found the familiar to be elegantly done and the unfamiliar to be instructive.

It has a good index, a less good further reading list, and no glossary; this latter would have helped the student who does not have a background of physiology ("coarctation" and "phasic") or embryology ("Wulffian") and "Mullerian"). These omissions are minor, for the book will prove very useful for its intended audience as it stands. Its title, of course, is a cheat.

Jack Cohen

Our review of the fourth edition of *Vegetation Ecology* by J. S. Collinson, published by Longman (THESE, July 14) gave the wrong ISBN. The correct number is 0 582 46321 1.

## BOOKS AND LIBRARIES

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Michael Pickard (Book)  
6 Pemberton Terrace, Cambridge  
Tel. 01223 60911  
Ask for our latest catalogue: *History and Theory of Education*



Utopia, by Ian Todd and Michael Wheeler (1978, £6.50) traces the notion of the perfect society from medieval visions of heaven on earth to the desert communes of today. The illustration reproduced above shows Edward Burne-Jones's design for William Morris's Dream of John Ball.

## With God on our side

On Synthesizing Marxism and Christianity  
by Dale Vree  
Wiley, £11.20  
ISBN 0 471 01603 9

Dale Vree is a Christian and a socialist and he has written a brilliant critique of the Marxist-Christian dialogue. This is not because he believes Christianity and Marxism should not talk to each other, or even work together for common aims, but because he believes the supposed dialogue is wrongly based.

Why is it wrongly based? Dale Vree answers that the dialogue can only acquire firm, hard, common ground by jettisoning what is distinctive about faith and about the Marxist theory of revolution. To explore an overlap is interesting and important, especially in a world as dangerously divided as this, but to build a synthesis is to gut the core of Marxism and of Christianity alike. So he takes prominent part in the dialogue to show exactly how they give away their basic position for a messy compromise. On the one hand he takes the other Roger Garaudy, and on the other Roger Garaudy.

This exercise is complicated because he has to assume an essence of Marxism and of Christianity against which his examples of wrong-headed synthesis can be shown up as leviant. It is also complicated because both Christian faith and Marxist theory have a unique capacity to yield plausible translations which appear to retain that essence. A man can appear to retain Christian faith in vocabulary and belief while subtly shifting the content of faith on to quite a different basis. Moreover, shifts which seem quite marginal often have a capacity to accelerate into full-scale heresy.

The same is true of Marxism: you can give up what appears to be an outlook only to find you have devised an engine which undermines the citadel itself. Moreover, those who slide down the slippery slope of political or religious heresy nearly always claim they are defending old promoting just that true and central creed.

This is what Vree says has happened in all three cases he has under review. The heretics claim they have uncovered the essence, and that the inert bulk of Christians or the hideous bulk of Marxists are in error. Since the heretics also claim to be representatives of truly liberating democracy they stand in

David Martin



















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